

THE PLACE, THOUGHT, AND IMPORTANCE OF ANTONIN CAUSSE  
IN OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

by

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"Certes, les buts de la recherche scientifique restent au-dessus de toutes les séparations de frontières. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que chaque peuple et chaque race apportent dans cette recherche leurs qualités natives et leur tempérament particulier."

A. Causse

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## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

## Works of Antonin Causse

|            |   |                                                                           |
|------------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>ATA</u> | = | <u>Au temps de nos anciens</u>                                            |
| <u>BR</u>  | = | <u>La Bible de Reuss et la renaissance des études bibliques en France</u> |
| <u>DI</u>  | = | <u>Les dispersés d'Israël</u>                                             |
| <u>EE</u>  | = | <u>L'évolution espérance messianique dans le christianisme primitif</u>   |
| <u>GE</u>  | = | <u>Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse</u>                      |
| <u>IVH</u> | = | <u>Israel et la vision de l'humanité</u>                                  |
| <u>PCB</u> | = | <u>Les plus vieux chants de la Bible</u>                                  |
| <u>PI</u>  | = | <u>Les "pauvres" d'Israël</u>                                             |
| <u>PIR</u> | = | <u>Les prophètes d'Israël et les religions de l'Orient</u>                |
| <u>SP</u>  | = | <u>Le socialisme des prophètes</u>                                        |
| <u>UJ</u>  | = | <u>Der Ursprung der jüdischen Lehre von der Auferstehung</u>              |

## Periodicals

|             |   |                                                                                |
|-------------|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>ACHR</u> | = | <u>Acts du Congrès international d'histoire des religions</u>                  |
| <u>AJS</u>  | = | <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>                                           |
| <u>APH</u>  | = | <u>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves</u> |
| <u>ASR</u>  | = | <u>American Sociological Review</u>                                            |
| <u>BS</u>   | = | <u>Bibliotheca Sacra</u>                                                       |
| <u>BZAW</u> | = | <u>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>         |
| <u>CS</u>   | = | <u>Christianisme Social</u>                                                    |
| <u>ETR</u>  | = | <u>Études Théologiques et Religieuses</u>                                      |
| <u>HUCA</u> | = | <u>Hebrew Union College Annual</u>                                             |

|             |   |                                                           |
|-------------|---|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>JA</u>   | = | <u>Journal Asiatique</u>                                  |
| <u>JBL</u>  | = | <u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>                     |
| <u>JBR</u>  | = | <u>Journal of Bible and Religion</u>                      |
| <u>JR</u>   | = | <u>Journal of Religion</u>                                |
| <u>JUD</u>  | = | <u>Judaism</u>                                            |
| <u>PR</u>   | = | <u>Philosophical Review</u>                               |
| <u>RA</u>   | = | <u>Revue Anthropologique</u>                              |
| <u>RB</u>   | = | <u>Revue Biblique</u>                                     |
| <u>RHR</u>  | = | <u>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</u>                  |
| <u>RHPR</u> | = | <u>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse</u>      |
| <u>RP</u>   | = | <u>Revue Philosophique</u>                                |
| <u>RSR</u>  | = | <u>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</u>                     |
| <u>RTAE</u> | = | <u>Revue de Théologie et d'Action Evangeliques</u>        |
| <u>RTPC</u> | = | <u>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne</u>    |
| <u>RTQR</u> | = | <u>Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuse</u>     |
| <u>TR</u>   | = | <u>Theologische Rundschau</u>                             |
| <u>VT</u>   | = | <u>Vetus Testamentum</u>                                  |
| <u>ZAW</u>  | = | <u>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u> |



## INTRODUCTION

The idea for this dissertation originated in 1960 in a course in Old Testament prophecy at the Divinity School of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, in which a careful analysis of Antonin Causse's research was made. At that time W. F. Stinespring, the instructor, stressed its value and stated that it had yet to be reckoned with in the field of Old Testament studies, most especially in America and Great Britain. Since 1960 my investigation of Causse and his work has confirmed Stinespring's opinion.

Antonin Causse was one of the outstanding Old Testament scholars in France during the first half of the twentieth century, and a part of the great line of Old Testament historians initiated by Ernest Renan. Inspired by French sociology, Causse provided a unique analysis of Israelite religion. The sociological aspect of the evolution of Israelite history and thought occupied most of his scholarly attention. This dissertation makes available for the first time a systematic evaluation of his life, intellectual background, research, and method, and shows the importance of Causse's work for contemporary Old Testament studies.

His research cannot be adequately understood unless one understands his life. Valuable insight into the nature of the man and his work is afforded in the biographical sketch of chapter one, based on published materials and information

provided by his wife and friends. The influences of his student years are discussed with particular emphasis on the formulation of his view of biblical studies. In addition, there appears a chronological survey of his publications.

Chapter two, on Causse's intellectual heritage, scans the development of French biblical criticism from R. Simon and J. Astruc to the early 1920's, and discloses Causse's place in French biblical studies, especially his relationship to the Strasbourg School. The chapter is not intended to be a detailed and comprehensive study of the growth of French biblical science. Its purpose is to elucidate the growth of the Strasbourg School and those aspects of French biblical criticism that are pertinent to an understanding of Causse and his scholarship.

Causse was an historian of Old Testament religion, and he employed a scientific method which he inherited in basic structure from the historians of the nineteenth century. However, he averred that only by employing the disciplines of sociology and psychology could the historian be faithful to scientific method. Hence, he integrated sociological and psychological laws into an evolutionary investigation of Israel's life, thought, and literature. It is the purpose of chapter three to present clearly the results of his research drawing on his books and articles, rather than to judge his critical positions. All English translations of Causse and other scholars are those of the writer, unless otherwise indicated.

Since Causse brought the categories of sociology face to



face with the basic ideas presented in the Old Testament, a careful evaluation of his method is imperative in determining the value of his work. Chapter four explores the influence of French sociology on his research and scrutinizes particularly the influence of Emile Durkheim and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. The justification for a sociological approach to Old Testament history and religion is carefully examined. Also there is attempted a correction of some inaccurate judgments on the relationship of Causse's work to that of Max Weber.

The knowledge of Causse's contribution to Old Testament studies is extremely limited. None of his works has been translated from French into any other language, and he has been overshadowed by Max Weber, whose Ancient Judaism has enjoyed a reputation as the most outstanding sociological analysis of the religion and history of Israel. However, Causse's extensive and penetrating sociological research needs to be studied by all students of the Bible who desire an understanding of the religious and historical problems of Old Testament religion.

In the final chapter the question as to why Causse's influence was not greater during his lifetime and afterward is investigated. The suggested answers are so stated as to place him in the proper perspective among Old Testament scholars and to relate his contributions to contemporary Old Testament studies. Although the proposed answers may not be considered conclusive, it would be extremely uncritical not to examine them.



Following the summary and conclusion there is an appendix that includes a bibliography of Causse's works.

Finally, a word should be said about the literary resources employed in the research for this work, and the resources that might have been used had they been available.

The writer had access to all of Causse's published works and articles listed in the appendix. The memorial articles dedicated to Causse by Horst, Hauter, and Lamorte illuminated his background and scholarly career. Additional information of a similar nature was acquired through personal communication with William F. Albright, Jean-Daniel Benoit, Madame Antonin Causse, Louis-Paul Horst, Edmond Jacob, Gustave Koch, and Théodore Lang.

It would have been helpful to investigate Causse's personal correspondence, but his widow indicated she knew of none he had preserved. Such correspondence would have been the source of the names of others who could have been contacted.

Of great value would have been accessibility to Causse's personal library, especially for the exploration of possible clues to influences upon him and for his critical comments, as these might have been indicated in marginal notes or other notations. None of his library, however, was available to me.

Any unpublished works and articles by Causse would have been extremely significant for this research, but there is no indication that such exist.

## CHAPTER ONE

### A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ANTONIN CAUSSE

Antonin Causse was born May 1, 1877 at Albias Tarn et Garonne about half-way between Montauban and Caussade in the beautiful area of Southern France through which the Aveyron flows. His father, Jacques Causse, was an able farmer and excellent horticulturist, and his mother, Anne Resseguier, was a charming woman wed to the simplicity of French rural life who possessed the practical ingenuity so characteristic of those who remain close to the "mother" earth. Antonin was the first child of what was eventually to be a family of six, a sister and two brothers being born after him.

The Causse home was steeped in French Huguenot religious tradition, though not in a militant and fanatical sense. The chief interests of the family were focused on the Bible, which was read aloud each day. Antonin grew up with an awareness of the minority status of the Reformed Church in France, keenly sensitive to its long history of persecution and struggle which during his lifetime was to crystallize and move toward a more tolerant attitude toward the French Protestants. However, he did not allow his observations to harden or embitter him, for indeed the biblical message of love was his bulwark. It was no doubt in these early years as a farmer's boy, and part of a religious minority, that the

seed was sown for Antonin Causse's lifetime interest in social ethics.

At a very early age his parents observed his intellectual prowess, his ability to grasp knowledge quickly, and his amazing power of retention. With the hope that his mental capabilities might be fully exploited, he was sent to the Lycée of Montauban in 1889 at the age of 12. It was here that he received the excellent background, especially in history and classics, which was to prepare him for a distinguished academic career under the direction of the Faculté de Théologie at Montauban, where he enrolled in 1896.

While at the Protestant Seminary of Montauban he came under the influence of two outstanding Old Testament scholars, Alexandre Westphal and Charles Bruston, both largely proponents of the Wellhausen School. Although Causse exhibited a broad spectrum of theological interests, it soon became apparent that he was inclined toward biblical studies. This was probably due in no small respect to Westphal and Bruston. His youthful aspirations reflected the desire to combine serious scholarly study and the pastoral ministry.

In 1900 he was graduated from Montauban with the *Bachlier en Théologie* degree. The same year his thesis for the degree was published, Le socialisme des prophètes,<sup>1</sup> revealing that his interest in Old Testament at this time was largely confined to the realm of social ethics. Soon after his graduation Causse left France to study in Germany primarily to increase his knowledge of the German language and to prof-

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1. (Montauban: Orphelins, 1900).



it from the teaching of such scholars as Adolph Harnack, Hugo Gressmann, and Hermann Gunkel. He did not officially enroll at any school but attended lectures and continued his studies at the University of Halle and the University of Berlin. His study and experience in Germany were to provide the impetus for a series of articles, which he wrote upon his return to France, demonstrating his interest in the Christianisme Social movement. In fact, two of these appeared in the official organ of the movement in France, Christianisme Social.<sup>1</sup>

By 1902 Causse had returned to France and accepted a call from the Consistory of Segonzac Charente. In this small village he was to spend seventeen fruitful and happy years. While serving this parish he was married. He was a faithful pastor devoting his mornings almost entirely to personal study and his afternoons to visiting among his parishioners, especially the sick and needy. At first he made his rounds on foot and later by bicycle, since automobiles in the early 1900's were rare, particularly in Europe. Causse loved the rural people--their simplicity, practicality, and closeness to nature. Yet, he had a broad world-view and understood the young and old, poor and rich. Those who came in contact with him found a man with a compassionate heart, a constant willingness to be of assistance, and a rare liberality. These

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1. "L'evolution sociale du protestantisme allemand," CS 16 (1903) 499-526; "La fin du parti national social en Allemagne," CS 17 (1904) 326-331. Cf. also "La crise du protestantisme allemand," RTQR 12 (1903) 571-586; 13 (1904) 81-91.

qualities made him a welcome guest in practically every home of the village of Segonzac.

It was inevitable that a man of his character would become intimately associated with his parishioners and that they would become strongly attached to him. This was for Causse a special source of joy, since he was dedicated to the task of making his scholarly biblical study relevant to the life of the rural Protestants.<sup>1</sup> These early years of pastoral ministry must have given him additional satisfaction, since they were coincident with the separation of church and state in France and the abolition of the Concordat in 1905. He took part in the celebrated reunion organized by the Consistory of Jarnac in 1909. At that meeting on Nov. 9, 1909, Causse gave a lecture entitled, "Calvin le sociologue du Protestantisme."<sup>2</sup> Although he found in Calvin the prophetic idea that Yahweh is the just God and that people as individuals must realize the justice of Yahweh, and although he declared the church and state to be organs of the government of God, each having its dignity and independence, he did not get involved in the particulars which had to do with bringing about the new state of the church in France.

To be sure Causse's primary concerns were his parish, his studies, and his writing. His years in the pastorate pro-

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1. Cf. his sermon, "La Bible et les paysans," CS 27(1914) 342-352. His remarks dealt with why the men of France were drifting away from the Bible. He maintained it was largely because of urbanization and man's detachment from nature which was a primary source of the Bible's similes, metaphors, and symbolism.

2. CS 22(1909) 325-332.



voked no relaxation of the last two.<sup>1</sup> In 1908 his thesis L'evolution de l'espérance messianique dans le christianisme primitif<sup>2</sup> for the degree of Licencié en Théologie was published. The volume was dedicated to Westphal, who had directed his first studies in the history of religions, and is a study of the evolution of Christian eschatology, utilizing the Religionsgeschichtliche Methode.

Since the Concordat<sup>3</sup> was suppressed in France in 1905, Causse wanted to pursue his studies as far as possible as a Protestant scholar. Desiring a university degree he went to Geneva where he came under the influence of the eminent Old Testament scholar, Lucien Gautier who, like Westphal and Bruston, was of the Wellhausen School. However, Causse continued his work at Segonzac and wrote his doctoral thesis there. It was completed and published in 1913 under the title: Les prophètes d'Israël et les religions de l'Orient: essai sur les origines du monothéisme universaliste.<sup>4</sup> That

1. Cf. "Les apocalypses et l'histoire des religions," RTQR 17(1908) 343-364. Published as a pamphlet by Fischbacher of Paris the following year.

2. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1908). Cf. his retort to C. Bruston's criticism of his thesis, "L'eschatologie évangélique. L'interprétation des apocalypses," RTQR 18(1909) 479-480; also an extract from the thesis, "La crise du Messianisme à la fin du Ier siècle," CS 22 (1909) 145. The small volume Die Ursprung der jüdischen Lehre von Auferstehung, (Cahors: Coueslant, 1908) is more or less a summary and appendix to the main doctoral thesis. It is not a translation of it. Such detailed abstracts were usually made in Latin, but Causse requested to do his in German and was allowed to do so.

3. It had been concluded by Napoleon and Pius VII in 1801 and implemented since Easter Day, 1802.

4. (Paris: Nourry, 1913).



year he received the degree from Geneva. The thesis attempted to show the relationship of Yahwism to the religions of the Orient and to relate the Bible to Oriental literature. The author expressed his objections to the artificial constructions produced by Egyptologists and Assyriologists who set up textual parallels and relationships. Following Wellhausen he studied the development of the stages of Yahwistic thought from its primitive, Semitic origins to the universalism of Second Isaiah. It was only after this largely prophetic oriented study that Causse addressed himself to an evaluation of "Oriental" monotheism. While he expressed deep feeling and admiration for the Old Testament prophets, the work was free from all apologetic preoccupation, as was almost all his work.

It was the publication of the doctoral thesis that brought him to the attention of the Faculté de Théologie at the University of Strasbourg.<sup>1</sup> In 1919 the French University of Strasbourg was created and Dean Lobstein was responsible for submitting proposals to the Minister of Public Instruction, since ten chairs in theology were established. Aware of Causse's work, the men on the faculty who were qualified to judge its merit hailed it as a magnificent contribution to biblical scholarship and unanimously agreed in his nomination to the faculty as Professor of Old Testament and History of Religions. He received this chair on the day of the inauguration of the University by the President of the Republic,

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1. This was made known to me by Pasteur Louis-Paul Horst in a letter of May 6, 1965.

Raymond Poincare, Nov. 22, 1919.

"To be admitted to university education was the secret desire of the young scholar. But to be assigned to a chair of the Faculté de Théologie made him overflow with joy, because it meant being a part, for almost a half-century, of the traditions of the old faculty which had attained a sort of zenith,"<sup>2</sup> both in the quality of its teachers and its scholarship. Causse knew he would be following in the great historical and critical tradition of Edouard Reuss, the father of the documentary theory of the Pentateuch made famous by Vatke and Wellhausen.

The energetic and youthful scholar rapidly became an integral part of university life. He was uniquely equipped to meet a peculiar need of the young seminarians. Part of his task became adapting the young Alsacians to French language and culture, for their secondary studies had been carried on in German. Causse, a true Frenchman, found himself amidst a rich mixture of French and German culture, which throughout his life exercised on him a dynamic magnetism. Many students came from German schools; therefore, it was necessary to teach them French along with their theological studies. In these early years of the French University of Strasbourg he would first read a small résumé of his lecture

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1. Louis-Paul Horst, "In Memoriam Antonin Causse," RHPR 27(1947). Causse's last work before going to the University was "Essai sur le conflit du christianisme primitif et de la civilization," RHR 78(1918) 98-142. It was published in expanded form as a booklet by Leroux of Paris in 1920.

2. Horst, loc. cit., 3.

in German and then continue in French.

Causse demonstrated from the beginning that he was not destined to be an isolated, cloistered scholar operating in his own world of idealism unthreatened by reality. Students found him extremely sociable and a fascinating conversationalist, and his home was always open to them. His interests in the students were not confined to the University campus, for he from time to time invited some of them to spend a vacation with him and his wife on their lovely property at Marsalet. His intimacy with the needs of others and profound understanding of human nature overflowed bountifully into his relationships with the students and ultimately into his work.

Since a child Causse had been rather frail, and his years at Strasbourg were to prove a constant battle with a weak constitution. Especially his last two years were filled with illness and physical agony. However, that which would have made so many lay down their labors did little to stifle his intellectual activity, and certainly did not embitter this compassionate and gentle man. Even when he was almost at death's door, greatly impaired by illness, he wrote his last article, "De la Jerusalem terrestre à la Jerusalem celeste,"<sup>1</sup> which exemplified his life-long interest in Old Testament eschatology which is evident in his work from the first publication to the last. The final words of his last article summarize the hope of the Old Testament prophets, a hope

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1. RHPR 27(1947) 12-36; published posthumously.



which Causse found integral to his Christian faith. They were from Isa. 25:7-8a.

"And he will destroy on this mountain  
The veil that veils all the peoples,  
And the web that is woven over all the nations;  
He will destroy death forever."

It was at Strasbourg during the period between the World Wars, when scholarship in many areas was diminished because of military involvements--recovery from one war and preparation for another--that Causse was to accomplish a great task of publishing numerous studies which brought him rich notoriety. His interests, however, were not merely in his studies, writing, and the students. He became vitally interested in reviving the Revue de Théologie of the old Faculty of Strasbourg, a widely influential periodical in which Edouard Reuss had regularly confronted the problems of Old Testament study and Timothée Colani those of New Testament study. Causse wanted to maintain this rich heritage, but to revive the Revue under a new form. The Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse was the product of his vision. Its value as a scholarly tool of treasured usefulness and sound scientific analysis is well known. Its worldwide circulation and importance are due largely to the devotion and labor of its founder, Antonin Causse. The broad spectrum of subjects covered in the periodical and the variety of scholarly fields represented indicates the founder's attitude that theological science could not be separated from the other sciences else it would become stale and irrelevant. During the years in which he served as editor he also contri-

buted many significant articles in the field of Old Testament study.

Upon his arrival at Strasbourg he established a life-long pattern of writing and publication--publishing series of articles which were later compiled in book form. In 1922, Les "pauvres" d'Israël, his first attempt at writing a social history of the religion of Israel, brought together articles previously published in the Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie<sup>1</sup> and Christianisme Social<sup>2</sup> with some expansion and revision. This was the first of a series of five major volumes and one small monograph to be published as Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses by the Faculté de Théologie Protestante of the University of Strasbourg. Hans Bruppacher published a violent reaction to Causse's work. It was entitled, Die Beurteilung der Armut im Alten Testament.<sup>3</sup> He denied poverty its ascetic character in the Old Testament, whose writers represented and conceived it as a evil which God did not like. However, while Causse referred largely to prophetic texts, Bruppacher relied mainly on older ones. Causse had succeeded in penetrating the soul of the poor, whereas Bruppacher had busied himself with detailed textual analysis. The former was optimistic and positive, the latter pessimistic and negative.

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1. "La législation sociale d'Israël et l'idéal patriarchal," RTP n.s. 7(1919) 189-215, 237-256.

2. "Le Psautier, livres des pauvres d'Israël," CS n.s. 33 (1920) 254-263, 330-347.

3. (Stuttgart: Perthes, 1924).



Unfortunately Bruppacher allowed his work to be too much dominated by the notion of "faith without works" and failed to see that poverty purifies the soul as Causse had asserted.

After 1920 his articles appeared almost exclusively in the Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse, except for occasional contributions to the Revue Anthropologique,<sup>1</sup> and the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.<sup>2</sup>

In 1924 Israël et la vision de l'humanité was published as second volume in the series mentioned above. It was the product of articles from RHPR.<sup>3</sup> Here Causse traced the development of Jewish humanism from its origins among the prophets to 4th century universalist tendencies and the reaction against Jewish particularism. He excelled in showing the influence exercised on the holy ideas of the Jews by the changing political scene, philosophical ideas, and pagan religions.

Reacting against the Wellhausen trend to date many of the Psalms in the post-exilic and Maccabean periods, Causse began to explore early Hebrew poetry. This culminated in a series of articles<sup>4</sup> in which he demonstrated his grasp of

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1. "Bénédiction et malédiction dans l'Ancien Testament," RA 36(1926) 158-164.

2. "Quelques remarques sur les origines de la diaspora et son rôle dans la formation du judaïsme," RHR 90(1924) 225-240.

3. "La vision de l'humanité dans la prophétie deutéro-ésaïaque," RHPR 2(1922) 445-498; "Le propagande juive et l'hellenisme," 3(1923) 397-414. It also included "L'origine étrangère et la caractère humaniste de la sagesse juive," ACHR 2 (1923) 45-54.

4. "Les origines de la poésie hébraïque," RHPR 4(1924) 393-419; 5(1925) 1-28; "L'ancienne poésie cultuelle d'Israël et les origines du Psautier," 6(1926) 1-37.



the field of Psalm criticism and followed largely Gunkel's classifications. He also profited from Mowinckel's work on the Psalter but found his entirely cultic orientation had smothered the individual element in the Psalms. Aware of the dangers of synthesis he described some of the first stages of the development of Hebrew poetry taking into account the importance of oral tradition in the formation of cultic literature. These investigations were collected and published in 1926, Les plus vieux chants de la Bible.<sup>1</sup> Especially enlightening were his discussions of the social nature of ancient music and the influence of the monarchy on the development of Hebrew music. The volume clearly demonstrated that the criticism of the Psalter had passed into a new stage.

The year 1929 brought the publication of yet another work, Les dispersés d'Israël<sup>2</sup> in which Causse wrote on a subject that he made peculiarly his own throughout his scholarly career--the diaspora and post-exilic Judaism. Contrary to many scholars he traced the origins of the diaspora to the pre-exilic period. He judiciously surveyed the post-exilic

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1. (Paris: Alcan, 1926).

2. This book brought together the following articles: "Les origines de la diaspora juive," RHPR 7(1927) 97-128; "La diaspora juive à l'époque perse," 8(1928) 32-65; "Judaïsme et syncrétisme orientale à l'époque perse," 8(1928) 301-328. Cf. "Quelques remarques sur les origines de la diaspora et son rôle dans la formation du judaïsme," RHR 90(1924) 225-240; "Le développement de la diaspora juive au V<sup>e</sup> siècle," Old Testament Essays, ed. by D. C. Simpson, (London: Griffin, 1927) 46-54.

literary history and its social and political background showing that many strands of thought derived from the past.

In the same year he published an article in RHPR which immediately appeared as a small monograph of the Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses. Its title was La Bible de Reuss et la renaissance des études bibliques en France.<sup>1</sup> This work, though brief, provided a comprehensive survey of the work of Edouard Reuss and Ernest Renan, and set both within the context of French biblical studies from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Of course, he concentrated on Reuss's contributions to French biblical exegesis. This monograph is very helpful for those who desire an understanding of the history of biblical criticism.

The years which followed, 1929-1937, were to provide the time of preparation for Causse's most ambitious undertaking-- a depth survey of the sociological problem of the religion of Israel; a careful analysis of Israel's evolution from an ethnic group to a religious community. In a span of five years, 1930-1935, seven articles appeared in RHPR which comprised almost all of the large work published in 1937, Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse.<sup>2</sup> It was hailed

1. RHPR 9(1929) 1-31; 1929 published by Alcan of Paris.

2. "La crise de la solidarité de la famille et du clan dans l'ancien Israël," RHPR 10(1930) 24-60; "Les prophètes et la crise sociologique de la religion d'Israël," 12(1932) 97-140; "La transformation de la notion d'alliance et la rationalisation de l'ancienne coutume dans la réforme deuteronomique," 13(1933) 1-29; "L'idéal politique et social du Deutéronome. La fraternité d'Israël," 13(1933) 289-321; "Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse," 14(1934) 285-335; "La secte juive et la nouvelle piété," 15(1935) 385-419; "La tendances universalistes de la secte et la signification de l'humanisme juif," 15(1935) 495-529.



by many Old Testament scholars as ranking with the works of Weber, Pedersen, and Lods. It plays a large part in the forthcoming discussions of this dissertation.

With all his interests at Strasbourg--his writing, teaching, and editing of RHPR--he did not remain isolated in Alsace. He travelled throughout Europe taking part in international discussions in biblical studies. In 1923 he participated in the Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions at Paris where he read a paper on the foreign origins of the humanist tendency in Jewish Wisdom literature.<sup>1</sup> On that occasion such notable scholars as A. Lods, M. A. Danon, and D. Berman were asked to respond to the paper.

Causse appears to have been the member of only one professional society, Société Ernest Renan which was devoted primarily to the history of religions. It was begun not long after World War I because of the growing interest in this field in France. Its members included such distinguished scholars as Guignebert, Loisy, Pommier, Lods, and Parrot. Its regular meetings were usually at 4:30 p.m. on the last Saturday of each month at l'Hôtel de Nevers. Aside from regular business the meeting consisted of the presentation of a paper by a member, followed by a response and evaluation by one or more others. One such paper was read by Causse during 1924.<sup>2</sup>

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1. "L'origine étrangère et la tendance humaniste de la sagesse juive," ACHR 2(1923) 45-54.

2. "Quelques remarques sur les origines de la diaspora et son rôle dans la formation du judaïsme," published the same year in RHR 90(1924) 225-240.



He attended the Congrès d'Histoire du Christianisme at Paris in 1927 and read an article entitled, "Quelques remarques sur l'idéal ébionitique dans les Testaments des douze Patriarches," which appeared in the annual proceedings of the Congrès<sup>1</sup> and also in RHPR.<sup>2</sup> The same year he was invited to read a paper at the eighteenth meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study held at Keble College, Oxford, England. The Society had been founded in January of 1917 to assist in promoting and coordinating Old Testament study. Although two meetings were held each year and some works had been published under the auspices of the Society, many members wanted to hold an international conference to foster cooperation among Old Testament scholars of different nationalities. Thus there were invited about 100 specialists in the field of Old Testament to the sessions held Sept. 27-30, 1927. They came from America, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia and Russia and included such outstanding men as D. C. Simpson, H. W. Robinson, G. R. Driver, W. O. E. Oesterley, J. M. P. Smith, P. Volz, J. Hempel, B. D. Eerdmans, O. Eissfeldt, H. Gunkel, A. Lods, and as we have noted A. Causse. His paper was published a year later in the volume Old Testament Essays edited by D. C. Simpson under the title, "Le developpement de la diaspora juive au V<sup>e</sup> siècle."<sup>3</sup>

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1. (Paris, 1927) I, 62-69.

2. RHPR 7(1927) 201-218.

3. Op. cit.

In 1929 the Rask-Ørsted Foundation of the University of Copenhagen engaged Causse for a series of lectures. They were given in September of that year. He was particularly grateful for this opportunity which provided new encouragement for the continuation of his sociological studies, for in coming to Copenhagen he felt unusually at home amidst an environment saturated with a long tradition of historical studies and those of religious sociology. The professors of the theological faculty graciously received the brilliant lectures which were later to be published in RHPR<sup>1</sup> and finally comprise the first chapters of Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse.<sup>2</sup>

Causse went to Germany in September of 1935 to participate in the International Conference of Old Testament scholars at Göttingen which included such Old Testament specialists as B. Duhm, O. Eissfeldt, J. Hempel, J. Lindblom, C. C. McCown, C. North, N. Porteous, G. von Rad, H. W. Robinson, H. H. Rowley, P. Völz, A. Weiser, E. Würthwein, and W. Zimmerli. His communication to the Conference was "La sagesse et la propagande juive à l'époque perse et hellénistique." It was published with the other scholarly reports and proceedings in the volume edited by Paul Volz, Friedrich Stummer, and Johannes Hempel, Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments.<sup>3</sup>

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1. "La crise de la solidarité de la famille et du clan dans l'Ancien Testament," RHPR 10(1930) 24-60.

2. (Paris: Alcan, 1937).

3. (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1936) 148-154.



In September, 1939, in the wake of the pressing German threat, the evacuation of Strasbourg began. Causse, like many of the faculty, followed the University to Clermont-Ferrand in the peaceful mountains of the Auvergne. It was there that he taught his last courses. Whenever possible he would vacation on his property at Marsalet amidst his beautiful vineyard on the celebrated hill of Montbalzac. The property had been inherited from his wife's family. It was here that his devotion to social ethics was applied in operating the vineyard so as to associate his workmen in sharing the profits.<sup>1</sup> At Marsalet he also continued his studies in surroundings which must have reminded him of his own origins in the south of France.

At the close of the war in 1945 he desired more than anything else to return to Strasbourg which he loved so dearly and where he had devoted the best years of his life to the University. His health was failing and he could not return at once. When he did return to Strasbourg, ill health prevented his resumption of teaching duties. He was now almost 70. The faculty of the University made him Professeur Honoraire. It was during this time after the Second World War that l'Institut de France named Causse an associate member of l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. The extremely high honor was no great surprise to those who knew the depth and breadth of his scholarship, his influence in the field of European Old Testament studies, and his service

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1. According to W. F. Albright in a personal letter to me Feb. 1, 1966.



to French scholarship and thought through his long years as editor of RHPR when it became a world renowned scientific periodical.

On the evening of his seventieth birthday he attended the annual banquet of the Faculté de Théologie at which he was honored. That evening he had a fall while climbing the stairway leading to the front door of the house where he lived. The fall resulted in a broken hip. He was immediately taken to the Clinique du Diaconet where he stayed for several weeks before his death on July 2, 1947.<sup>1</sup>

Thus a great Frenchman and Old Testament scholar left behind a rich treasury of scholarship and service to others. The nature and character of Causse were rare. He followed the dictates of biblical criticism called by many "modernism;" yet a conservative scholar, André Lamorte, paid him an outstanding tribute which is an illuminating appraisal of Causse.

"He expressed his opinions but never condemned the men or institutions who did not think as he did. His personal piety marked by the hallmark of his rural and Huguenot origins was characterized by a profound spirit of charity; and we know that his influence had no small part in the benevolent judgments which the faculty of Strasbourg had sometimes been known to make concerning our young faculty and its publications. In this regard we must render homage to the memory of our eminent colleague.

"Monsieur Causse was an original scholar. . . . What made for the originality of his work? The Strasbourg professor had learned how to adapt his education to the most serious human preoccupations. His exegesis, so strong it was, as well as his

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1. I am indebted to Pasteur Louis-Paul Horst for this account of Causse's death in a personal letter to me dated May 6, 1965.

biblical theology, was not simply oriented to the past. It was impregnated to the core with what A. Causse had always carried with him: to give a biblical response, a religious response to the vital problems of the person and society.

"It is this spirit which drove him to the 'poor,' the small and disinherited of life, and thus the search for eternal good; thereby A. Causse had studied the origin of the diaspora, the poetry of the Hebrews, and with a particular liking the sociological and missionary thought of the prophets.

"It is necessary to add that Professor Causse differed essentially from us. Molded by the school of higher criticism, at a time when the conclusions of the same were considered the final word of a concrete, definitive science, A. Causse always remained forcefully Wellhausian. In this regard we followed divergent paths. But to encounter him, for the most part, amidst the theologians of his time, in whom radicalism did not follow without endangering spiritual formation and the biblical culture of the construction, A. Causse by the synthetic conception of his works, although his preoccupations were wholly historical and sociological, had learned how to do constructive work. His works, in spite of their critical assertions, will always remain infinitely precious and full of interesting suggestions for those who, far beyond and in spite of proper theological conclusions, seek to penetrate the foundations of the eternal problems of the thought and aspiration of the sacred writings."<sup>1</sup>

While almost all of Causse's work was in the field of French biblical science,<sup>2</sup> he has left one volume published posthumously that must remain among the great writings of French literature. It is Au temps de nos anciens having to

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1. A. Lamorte, "In memoriam--Le professeur Antonin Causse," RTAE 7(1947) 256-257. RTAE is published by the Free Faculty of Protestant Theology at Aix en-Provence.

2. His last great contribution to French biblical science was collaborating with C. Jaegar in editing volume II of La Bible du centenaire, (Paris: Société Biblique, 1947).



do with memories of his childhood on a farm in southern France. In elegant and melodic French he describes the life of the farmers. His pictures of rural life are in the writer's opinion an important source for any historian of "old" France.<sup>1</sup> "After having worked on historical documents, Causse has left an historical document."<sup>2</sup> It is from this volume that one learns of Causse's rich biblical heritage in the home and of his more than casual early interest in the Old Testament.

"Yes, in my childhood and youth I knew of Protestants who read the Bible and some who read only the Bible, and my grandfather was one of the latter. He read the Bible particularly on Sunday, every Sunday, to begin the holy day. Before opening the Book, he washed his hands in a rite of purification, next he sat down before the large table in the tall chair intended for him; and then, in his beautiful deep voice, a voice which suited particularly the sacred words, he read. He read with clarity, scanning the phrases; he read with simplicity and serenity. He read the account of the creation, he read the genealogies with predilection, the genealogies of the ancient patriarchs before the flood, the genealogy of the Canaanites and the genealogy of the children of Seth, and in the New Testament the genealogy of Jesus Christ, son of David. It was the first page of the Gospel, and for that reason, according to my childhood judgment, the most important. He also read the account of the Flood, and the account of the death of Moses on Mount Nebo, and the history of Elijah in the desert, and the history of Job smitten because of Satan. He even read the history of Solomon and his wonders, and particularly the words of Ecclesiastes, 'son of David,' king of Jerusalem: 'Vanity of Vanities!'

"He always read in a loud voice; I never ob-

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1. C. Hauter also shares this opinion. Cf. "In Memoriam Antonin Causse," RHPR 27(1947) 9.

2. Ibid.



served him to read otherwise. That seemed to him the only genuine method of reading befitting the Holy Book.

"I listened to him, seated before him, near the table, and these words which he pronounced, and which sounded strange and full of mystery, evoked in my child's imagination the vision of distant humanity and the mirage of vanished ages.

"At these times, grandmother looked after her domestic tasks preparing the morning meal. She listened nevertheless, and sometimes interrupted admiringly addressing me: 'You listen to your grandfather! What a voice, what an organ!'

"Grandfather read the Old Testament more willingly than the New Testament, and that is explained without a doubt by the fact that Protestant piety of that environment had preserved something of the manner of the old Huguenots. Grandfather's Bible was the Bible of the Protestants of the past, the Bible of the two testaments, which one still read in the Martin translation or Osterwald revision, but the Martin translation particularly with its somewhat old-fashioned French . . . but savory in its archaism and in which the spirit of the eighteenth century had not abolished the vigor of the original. This was the Bible of the two testaments, but above all the Bible of the Old Testament, as it was formerly comprised in the time of the Reform and persecutions, as it was preached in the assemblies of the wilderness, . . . And was there not some kinship between these Huguenots and the countrymen of Israel who had lived in former times, laborers and shepherds, on the hills and in the valleys of Palestine, who, in the accounts of Genesis and in the words of the Psalms and the prophets, had expressed their ideal, their complaint and their aspiration?

"Grandfather read at length; he read the chapters one after another in the same book and only left the book when he had finished it. For him the Bible was not a succession of verses that one could quote to support doctrinal conceptions where one found the formulas of the catechism and applications to every day life; it was truly a history, the history of the men of God and the people of God of former times. And when one thinks of it, he is no longer astonished that the Protestants who read the Bible in this manner, even when they were not cultured people, had been able to attain the real culture, a classical culture . . . with an ideal of life, an especially artistic sensibility, a concep-

tion of the world, a philosophy of life. This is what these countrymen had found in the reading of the Book."<sup>1</sup>

This brief biographical sketch is the necessary prelude to an understanding of Causse's work, which cannot be placed in proper perspective unless we understand his life.

In the succeeding chapter Causse's intellectual heritage will be scanned with particular interest in his place in French biblical studies and more especially the Strasbourg School.

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1. Au temps de nos anciens. Scènes et souvenirs de mon enfance, (Strasbourg: Oberlin, 1948) 25-26.

## CHAPTER TWO

## THE INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE OF ANTONIN CAUSSE

## Introduction

It is not infrequent that the origins and primary development of biblical criticism as a science have been attributed to the Germans. Indeed, Old Testament studies, so long German-oriented, have all but eclipsed the evolution of French biblical studies.<sup>1</sup> It is true that one would hazard a tremendous risk should he neglect German biblical scholarship, but the lacuna left by neglecting French biblical scholarship is no less hazardous for the serious student of the Bible.

The contemporary work in Old Testament studies in France and in the French speaking schools of Switzerland and Palestine is but a continuation of the long line of French biblical scholarship spawned by such men as Richard Simon and Jean Astruc. Antonin Causse felt a keen attachment to this great French tradition. His study of the history of Old

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1. In a conversation with Professor H. J. Kraus of the University of Hamburg on April 22, 1965, in which I inquired as to why Causse and the Strasbourg School were omitted from his Geschichte der Historisch-Kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments, (Neukirchen Kr. Moers: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956), he asked, "Who is this Causse?" and later, "What is this Strasbourg School?" These questions indicate that Causse's work has received little attention in present day German Old Testament scholarship. Furthermore, Kraus's omission of Causse is an error for which W. Baumgartner has already taxed him. "Eine alttestamentliche Forschungsgeschichte," TR 25(1959) 99.



Testament religion was much influenced by the work of one of its great pioneers, Ernest Renan.<sup>1</sup> Causse felt himself to be a part of the erudite efforts of Edouard Reuss and Ernest Renan to deal seriously with the problems raised by the biblical text. Although Wellhausen greatly influenced him, by 1900 when he began to write<sup>2</sup> he knew that the new dawn for Old Testament studies would not come by merely rehashing Wellhausen's positions. The fragmentary handling of the text in source divisions was passé. New methods which would bring to a synthesis the discoveries of Old Testament criticism, as well as lead to new ones, must be formulated and applied. Thus, he began his life-long task of research on the sociological history of Israel.

One cannot, however, isolate Causse's work from the intellectual heritage to which it is so vitally related. It is a part of a larger context. Furthermore, Old Testament studies must not remain so German-oriented. If Max Weber<sup>3</sup> almost alone has been praised in connection with the sociological approach to the Old Testament, it is primarily because the monumental work of Causse<sup>4</sup> and the Strasbourg School

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1. E. Renan, l'Histoire d'Israël, 5 vols., (Paris: M. Lévy Frères, 1887-93).

2. SP.

3. M. Weber, Ancient Judaism, trans. & ed. by H. H. Gerth and D. Martindale, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1952). These essays first appeared in the Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialforschung, 1917-19, and after Weber's death were published by his widow under the title Das Antike Judentum as the third volume of his Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie (Tübingen, 1921).

4. GE.

in this area of study has been neglected. Suffice it to say, Causse's life and work cannot be adequately understood apart from a comprehension of his intellectual heritage.

In the following chapters the results of Causse's work and method of research will be carefully explored. Since nowhere in his publications is the latter explicitly discussed, it will be necessary to let him relate his method by gleaning quotations and explanations from his books and articles, which will serve the purpose. However, this first chapter is the necessary prelude to an understanding of his approach to Old Testament history and religion. Its intention is to provide the background requisite to discerning the significance of Causse's work by outlining a brief history of Old Testament criticism in France from Richard Simon to the early 1900's. Almost three and a quarter centuries of French history will be scanned, noting particularly the growth of the Protestant Strasbourg School and contributions of Catholics and Protestants in general.

#### PART ONE: EARLY BEGINNINGS

Richard Simon, called the "father of biblical criticism," was born at Dieppe in 1638. He was the son of a blacksmith, Joachim Simon. His early years of study included an excellent foundation in Greek and Oriental languages. After training for the priesthood, he became priest of the Congregation of the Oratory. The story of his contribution to Old Testament studies is one of arduous intellectual labor, hardship, heart-break, and neglect; but the results have long since been felt

in the realm of biblical criticism.

In 1678, Simon's Histoire critique du texte, des versions, et des commentateurs du Vieux Testament went to press. Some thirteen hundred copies were printed.<sup>1</sup> No sooner had word of the endeavor reached Bousset, the influential Jesuit Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, than drastic measures were taken to prevent the release of Simon's book.<sup>2</sup> Simon was to be one of the first victims of the hatchet of ecclesiastical authority so frequently to be leveled at the Roman Catholic biblical scholars of centuries to come. Bousset suspected Simon of collaborating with Protestants on a new translation, an action for which he could have no great affection.<sup>3</sup>

Why all this opposition? It arose because of Simon's claim that it was impossible that Moses could have written the first five books of the Bible in their entirety.<sup>4</sup> Chapter five of his work was entitled, "Moses cannot be the Author of the Books which are Attributed to Him." He dealt carefully with the repetitious passages in the Pentateuch which led him to believe more than one author had been at work.

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1. Only a very few copies of the original printing survived. From one of them the Amsterdam edition of 1680 was made. Two subsequent editions of inferior quality followed: one in Latin (1681) and the Rotterdam edition (1685).

2. Cf. A. Monod, La controverse de Bousset et de Richard Simon au sujet de la "Version de Trévoux," (Strasbourg: Imprimerie Alsacienne, 1921).

3. E. M. Gray, Old Testament Criticism, (New York: Harper, 1923) 105.

4. Kraus, op. cit., 61.



Although he may not have intended to precipitate a new approach to biblical studies, for he largely made an analysis of the opinions and commentaries of others, he did so.

Simon did not fare well for his supposedly "heretical" views. Expelled from the Congregation of the Oratory, he retired to Bolleville to be forgotten, at least for the time being.

As history has so often illustrated, the way to fan the spark of an idea, principle, or movement is to attempt to crush it. Such was the case with Simon. There were those who would have the world hear him, such as the Englishman, John Hampden, who made possible an English translation of Simon's work.

Yet, the immediate effect of the volume and its observations was not so impressive. Through the opposition of Bousset, the action of the King's Council, and the efforts of an additional opponent, Jean le Clerc, professor of Hebrew at the Remonstrant College of Amsterdam,<sup>1</sup> Simon's valuable contribution was suppressed. Thus, the great initial effort to exercise a study of the biblical text by standards applied to profane literature succumbed<sup>2</sup> at least for the moment, and

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1. Cf. J. le Clerc, Defense des sentimens de quelques théologiens de la Hollande sur l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament, (Amsterdam: Desbordes, 1686).

2. H. Marginal, Essai sur Richard Simon et la critique biblique au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle, (Paris: Maillet, 1900). See the valuable assessment of Simon's life and work in J. Steinmann's Richard Simon et les origines de l'exégèse biblique, (Paris: Desclée, 1960); especially the section dealing with the criticism of the Old Testament, 91-153; and his Biblical Criticism, trans. by J. R. Foster, (New York: Hawthorne, 1958) 45-47; L. A. Schökel, Understanding Biblical Research, trans. by P. J. McCord, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963) 58-64.

the uneasy tranquility invoked by ecclesiastical authority enveloped France, only to await disruption in centuries to come by such men as Renan, Loisy, and Lagrange.

Simon was not the only one in the second half of the seventeenth century who critically approached the writings of the Old Testament. Spinoza, especially in his Traité théologico-politique of 1670 achieved some rather advanced results. However, Simon methodologically was more effective, and in fact, exegetical science as Germany nurtured it resembled Simon's work more than Spinoza's. Whether Simon had read Spinoza's book before he published the Histoire critique du Vieux Testament in 1678 is not known, but he certainly was not dependent upon it. Renan calls Spinoza "the Bacon of Exegesis" who foresaw a method which he did not practice with consistency; and Simon "the Galilean" who resolutely set to work with astonishing genius, and raised with a singular attempt the edifice of biblical science to firm foundations which have not been shaken.<sup>1</sup>

The time which followed the conflict of Bousset and Simon was a trying one for biblical studies in France. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes<sup>2</sup> in 1685 forced the closure of

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1. E. Renan's "Preface" in A. Kuenen's Histoire Critique des livres l'Ancien Testament, trans. by M. A. Pierson, (Paris: Lévy, 1866) xii.

2. The Edict of Nantes was established in April, 1598 by the French king, Henry IV. It guaranteed religious freedom to French Protestants, largely Huguenots. Basically it provided for freedom of conscience for Protestants throughout France, the right to hold public worship, full civil rights, and the subsidy of Protestant pastors by the government. The Edict was violently opposed by the Roman Catholic clergy and it was finally revoked on October 18, 1685.



Protestant schools and deprived French Protestants of all civil and religious liberty. Historical and philological studies reached a new low. Science itself seemed to lose its authority. Critical biblical study was all but forced out of France; it gravitated largely to Holland and Germany. The chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France was held by no person of importance during this period.

There were actually no outstanding exegetes at this time, save an erudite Benedictine, Dom Augustin Calmet,<sup>1</sup> Abbot of Senones, in Lorraine. "His general character as a scholar and writer, is that of a diligent and judicious collector and compiler, with more of tolerance than was usual among the Catholics of that day, but without any profound skill in original investigation, or any distinguished tact or taste in the plan and arrangement of his works."<sup>2</sup> His method was perilous indeed, for he ignored Oriental languages and the work of the rabbis. Simon had valued both as indis-

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1. Renan, loc. cit., xvi.

2. Edward Robinson in his preface to Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible, Charles Taylor edition, revised with additions by Robinson, (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1832) 1. Calmet's Dictionary was first published in Paris 1722-28, four volumes. It was first translated into English by D. Oly and Colson in 1732, three volumes. Translations were also made into Latin, Spanish, Dutch, and Italian. The Charles Taylor edition was first published in England in 1797 and went through four subsequent editions: 1800-3, 1812-16 (from which an American edition was made), 1823, and 1830 (after Taylor's death). The Robinson revision was published in 1832, 1843, and 1852.

For a brief summary of Calmet's life and work see "Calmeti Vita," Scripturae Sacrae V, ed. by J. P. Migne, (Paris: Migne, 1866) 807-808.



pensable to the serious student of the Old Testament. Calmet's work on demons, vampires, ghosts, and flying dragons is amazingly far-fetched.<sup>1</sup>

It is to Calmet's student, Francois Marie Arouet, or Voltaire, that a great debt is owed for his initiative in leading a revival for freedom of thought in France. He was a rationalist first and foremost. His decrial of the church was not merely an attack on a stagnant institution, but on religion in general. It was not unnatural that he found himself at home among the Deists who had little use for organized religion.

For Voltaire one's study of the Bible must have as its point of departure and result--reason. He exhibited no excess affection for the Old Testament. Observing that Samuel told the Israelites that if they rejected the monarchy they would be rejecting God, and also noting that Jewish theocracy ceased when the monarchy began, Voltaire concluded, "We may therefore remark, without the interpretation of blasphemy, that the history of the Jewish kings was written like that of other nations, and that God did not take the pains himself

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1. A. Calmet, The Phantom World, trans. by H. Christmas, (London: Bentley, 1850). Cf. other works of Calmet such as: Antiquities Sacred and Profane; or, A Collection of Curious and Critical Dissertations on the Old and New Testament, trans. by N. Tindal, (London: J. Roberts, 1724-26); also the series of articles edited by P. Migne in Scripturae Sacrae, "In Pentateuchum," 5(1866) 809-819; "Dissertatio in Exodum," 5(1866) 1041-1053; "In duodecim minores Prophetas commentaria," 20(1869); and Dictionnaire historique, archéologique philologique, chronologique, géographique et littéral de la Bible, I-IV, ed. by A. F. James, (Paris: Migne, 1845). Calmet did publish other articles and works besides the above, but these are the most significant.

to dictate the history of a people whom he no longer governed. . . . It must be acknowledged, that if the Holy Spirit did write this history, he did not choose a particularly edifying subject."<sup>1</sup> Voltaire liked the New Testament better than the Old, because it did not seem so inhumane, but he found it, particularly the Gospels, full of contradictions and inconsistencies.

Voltaire was neither an Hebraist nor an Oriental philologist, and most of his biblical understanding came from Calmet. Therefore, we do not find in his works specific critical biblical study which had made a lasting impression in the history of biblical criticism. The rationalist polemic<sup>2</sup> did little to encourage research of a scientific nature in religious studies. Causse suggests that his l'Essai sur les mœurs did more to harm historical studies than a veritable invasion of barbarians.<sup>3</sup> But Voltaire's critique of religion was priceless. He spoke mostly in the negative--criticizing here, tearing down there. This was healthy for a traditional religious society which tended to smother progressive movements within it. He challenged the authority of scripture, doubted miracles, and questioned the use of prophecy. Nevertheless, Old Testament studies profited by his polemic against intolerant religion which is always an

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1. Voltaire, A Philosophical Dictionary, IV, trans. from French, (London: Hunt, 1824) 71-72.

2. R. Z. Lauer, The Mind of Voltaire, (Westminster: Neuman, 1962).

3. BR, 3.

obstacle to biblical science. Even if he was a "poor" exegete, it is to him that critical exegetes in France by and large owe the reclaiming of the right to think freely.

Slowly but surely a new day began to dawn for biblical criticism in France. One might have hoped for more contributions to the discipline in the latter seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, especially after the work of Simon, but such was not the case. The work of Simon had been unpretentious. It did what it could through a simple method involving logical deduction based upon observation of the biblical text. What more could be done using such a method? It is also to be remembered that the Roman Catholic Church had been so wrought with internal division and strife that there was little time for serious concern over biblical studies. Nevertheless, the bonds of the status quo were being broken with Voltaire leading the ranks of those implementing the break.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of rationalism opened the way for the growth of biblical criticism. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the foundation laid by Simon's work provided a sound basis for the development of the discipline. Three aspects of his research which would chart the course of future study may be cited:

- 1) there are certain statements in the Hebrew text which cannot be reconciled;
- 2) traditional authorship of certain books in some instances rests on a very shabby foundation;

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1. Steinmann, Biblical Criticism, 53-56.



- 3) there are difficulties in maintaining a doctrine of plenary inspiration when one studies the history of the text itself.<sup>1</sup>

However, the new dawn would not come merely by a repetition of negative conclusions and their application to all parts of the Old Testament. Positive contributions and a sound method were imperative if biblical criticism was to contribute effectively to the scholarship of the church, both Catholic and Protestant.

The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres made possible new hope. Three distinguished members of the Académie--Frèret, Burigny, and l'abbé Barthélmy delved seriously into Hebrew studies. Barthélmy "in giving definitively the key to scripture and Phoenician language, furnished Hebrew philology one of its most efficacious aids."<sup>2</sup> Frèret and Burigny were lay scholars who were interested in neither a polemic against religion nor a defense of it. Their interest was in studying the text of the Old Testament just as one studied other ancient texts. Still these efforts were minor, for the day had not yet come when one could exploit biblical research to the fullest extent without risk of imprisonment or even death.

In the year 1709 Etienne Fourmont, the French Orientalist who later occupied the chair of Arabic at the Collège de France, published a brief pamphlet, Lettre à Monsieur . . ..<sup>3</sup>

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1. Gray, op. cit., 125.

2. Renan, "Preface," xx.

3. The following year a second letter appeared.

It was a polemic against Calmet and his Genesis commentary. Fourmont's treatise was eloquent and clearly reasoned, indirectly denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch by showing with careful discretion that Calmet was at best begging the question. One was left to wonder what actually there was to support Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Old Testament. Although the reader might offer his own answer, there could be no doubt as to that of Fourmont, though not explicitly stated--"almost nothing!"

Would the France that established biblical criticism and that suppressed it now give it new life? Yes. A spokesman for a more positive approach and sound method arose in the layman and physician, Jean Astruc. He was born in 1684 at Montpellier, and the son of a Huguenot pastor who sometime afterwards was converted to Catholicism like many other Protestant pastors of that day. Astruc became a physician and served as professor of anatomy at Toulouse.<sup>1</sup>

In 1753 he published Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paraît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse.<sup>2</sup> Although not a Hebrew scholar his perusal of Genesis was keen and perceptive. To be sure, he probably had more than a passing interest in Hebrew, being descended from a Jewish family. Astruc himself was a Christian. On almost every page of Genesis he observed that one finds

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1. A. Lods, Jean Astruc et la critique au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1924). See the excellent biographical section pages 5-26.

2. (Bruxelles: Fricx, 1753). Although the book listed Brussels as the place of publication, the place was in fact Paris. A second edition appeared in Brussels in 1755.

the mixing and blending of a number of apparently heterogeneous elements.<sup>1</sup> His explanation for this fact was that Moses in composing the book had originally put these elements side by side, and that the text achieved its rather confused state due to copyists who attempted to make a continuous story out of the original parallel framework. The two basic sources appeared to be those which utilized the names Yahweh and Elohim respectively, and not interchangeably. Astruc constructed tables at the end of the volume to illustrate his source theory. Aside from the two main sources, he suggested the possibility of ten minor ones which he maintained were largely of Midianite, Moabite, and Ammonite origin. His attempt is not unlike those of critics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While Astruc's claim of Mosaic authorship might appear to put his work below the value of that of Simon, it in reality did not. His method of source criticism became the basis for future Pentateuchal studies. Probably hoping to protect the book from attack, he accepted the traditional view of authorship. The ecclesiastical pressures of the time were overwhelming. However, one should not be led to think Astruc had a bombshell effect on French biblical studies during his lifetime. Like Simon's work, the Conjectures had little immediate impact, but for a different reason. It was published without clamor and forgotten. No doubt the church did not feel threatened by the views of a layman no matter how unique or revolutionary.

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1. Lods, loc. cit., 56-62.



For the next fifty years French biblical studies were all but dead. The suppression of the historical sciences forced serious biblical criticism into Holland and Germany. France, the mother of biblical science, became its orphan--alienated from that to which she had given birth.

Had the church reaped any benefit from these early beginnings of biblical science? Bousset by condemning Simon's research thought he had delivered the church from treacherous heresy. Voltaire came challenging the church and all who would suppress freedom of thought. He could not justify Simon's scholarly efforts for he was no Hebraist, but he could redeem the scholar's right to think and be heard. This lesson gave direction to biblical studies for scores of years to come.

## PART TWO: THE RENAISSANCE OF BIBLICAL STUDIES

Only a few short years before the end of the eighteenth century, France was thrust into revolution. The reign of Louis XIV left the country in turmoil. The government treasury had been drained by supporting the American Revolution, political factions were already well defined, the Edict of Nantes<sup>1</sup> had been revoked and Protestants again were subjected to distressing circumstances. Many of them fled the country or else became Roman Catholic, while some were content

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1. Cf. S. Waring, The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1839); F. Puaux, Études sur la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, (Paris: Grossart, 1886); B. Devismes, Unité religieuse, unité nationale; de l'évangélisme à la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, (Paris: Perrin, 1946).

to be unbelievers.

Louis XV's reign offered no strong leadership. Jacobism, Jansenism, and Gallicanism continued to grow rapidly. The king lacked the resolution to deal with almost any problem. When Louis XVI finally attempted to convene the Parlement with hopes of producing funds to relieve economic depression, the Revolution was triggered.

This was no revolution that grew up overnight. It had been precipitated by a long development of social, political, economic, and religious injustice.<sup>1</sup> Leaders of the Age of Reason like Voltaire saw in the Revolution a chance to crush the intolerance of the government, nobility, and the church. The nobles had been the favored elite and the Roman Catholic Church the favored religious community. Both had done a poor job in carrying out their responsibilities.

The Revolution revealed that the Roman Catholic Church's supposed education of the people had left most of them illiterate.<sup>2</sup> Monasteries declined in importance; many of them had only about three to five candidates a year. The morality of the monks and clergy in general had descended to new depths of debauchery. The nobility had taken over practically every important episcopal position, and many of these men were little short of atheists and some certainly no more than God-fearers by lip service.

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1. Only a minority of the nobles and church leaders were on the side of the Revolution.

2. G. R. Cragg, The Church and The Age of Reason, (New York: Atheneum, 1961) 201.

One church official reported: "A mere priest must believe a little or he will be considered a hypocrite, but he must not be too sincere in his beliefs or people will call him intolerant. A vicar-general may permit himself a smile when religion is attacked, a bishop may laugh, and a cardinal may give his cordial assent."<sup>1</sup>

The church was in a terrible state: the higher clergy were divided from the lower with bishops, archbishops, and cardinals receiving luxurious compensation and local priests having hardly enough with which to purchase food. The church could not bear the weight of its accusers. It had submitted to the world. Infested with greed for power, money, and political and ecclesiastical authority, it had become no more than a tool of secular society.

It arouses no astonishment that the scholarship of the church declined. Theological study lost importance even with those who were dedicated to studying it. "Science and humane learning claimed more attention, dogmatics and biblical scholarship received less."<sup>2</sup>

Biblical science could not go unaffected by the sad condition of the church. Its leaders were too busy with their conflicts with such groups as the Jansenists to get involved in serious Bible study. One cannot claim that the church, Catholic and Protestant, had only men of inferior intelligence during these trying years, but the lack of sound theolo-

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1. Ibid., 203-204.

2. Ibid., 207.



gical debate and biblical study in both camps is a testimony to the lack of interest in such endeavors immediately before and after the turn of the century.

Despite the difficulties brought by the Revolution and the injustices which it inflicted, it did lay the ground work for an atmosphere in which biblical criticism could again be effectively resumed in France.

During the first fifty years of the nineteenth century Romanticism tended to rejuvenate an interest in the Bible, but this tended to be more of an enthrallment with the enchanting lands of the Near East, especially the Palestine of the Bible, and the eloquent language of the prophets and Psalmists. There was practically no employment of historical method in understanding the text. Furthermore, the work of Simon and Astruc remained neglected, if not ignored.<sup>1</sup>

Illiteracy on biblical questions in France during the 150 years separating Simon and Astruc from Reuss and Renan was destined to be shattered by the enlightening influence of the Strasbourg School.

The pioneers of this movement were Edouard Reuss, Edmund Scherer, and Timothee Colani. At Strasbourg, the pivotal city between two great cultures, French and German, "they applied to religious studies the methods of observation, of historical criticism, and of moral experience in use in the other domains of scientific research."<sup>2</sup> Needless to say the

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1. W. Gladden, Witnesses to the Light, (New York: Mifflin, 1903).

2. BR, 1.

school was under the constant surveillance of the government and Roman Catholic authorities, who were extremely suspicious of it.

Reuss led the way in a meaningful scientific criticism of the Bible. He was instrumental in attracting students and scholars from all over Europe to this new venture of relating faith and science. The school was committed to the application of the canons of scientific discipline to the study of the Bible, employing the same historical critical methods to which other literature was subjected. Furthermore, freedom of thought was implicit in all for which the school stood. Reuss was the guardian and evangel of these principles. Renan, who never identified himself with the movement, was extremely sympathetic toward it and saw its necessity.

Reuss was a diligent and productive scholar and almost singlehanded filled the gap in French biblical science by the voluminous literature from his pen. He was born at Strasbourg on July 18, 1804 and died on April 15, 1891. After completing his dissertation at the University in 1825, he left for study in Germany, first at Göttingen, then Halle, and finally Jena. When he returned to France he brought with him the influence of German historical and theological research. In 1828 he became a professor on the theological faculty of the University of Strasbourg. A number of German universities observed the brilliance of this young scholar, whose early works appeared first in German, but were unable to prevent him from returning to his native city and university.

His desire was to give his life in the service of French biblical studies.

Reuss had little interest in dogmatic and practical theology, and philosophic speculation held no attraction for him. His efforts were concentrated in the area of biblical science. He dreamed of translating the entire Bible into French with accompanying introductions and commentaries which would be the product of scientific research. The realization of this dream began about 1860.

Etienne Coquerel approached Reuss about submitting a translation of the Bible to l'Union liberale which wanted to edit one, but Reuss declined, desiring to remain free of any apologetic attachments and the judgments of an editorial committee.<sup>1</sup> Between the years 1840 to 1880 many translations of the Bible appeared in French.<sup>2</sup> By 1870 Reuss had completed his New Testament and a portion of the Old Testament and was considering seeking an editor. However, his desires were stymied by the Franco-German War which resulted in the siege of Strasbourg and the scattering of the University faculty. Reuss stayed at his post continuing to work on a translation of the Bible.<sup>3</sup> In October of 1879 the entire Bible was

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1. Ibid., 11.

2. 1842-1849 revision of Osterwald by Matter and Cuvier; 1835 New Testament of Geneva by Munier; 1839 New Testament of Lausanne; 1854-1872 Old Testament of Lausanne; 1847-1861 Old Testament by Perret-Gentil; 1858 New Testament of Rilliet; New Testament of Arnaud; 1846-1865 New Testament with commentary by Bonnet; 1872 New Testament by Oltramare; 1873 Old Testament by Segoud; 1879 Old and New Testaments by Reuss with commentary; 1880 New Testament by Segoud.

3. He was also working simultaneously on his edition of Calvin.



finished and on December 31 of that year it was published in sixteen volumes by G. Fischbacher of Paris. Of his own work he said, "It is with me that the renaissance of Protestant theology begins in France, because the method and foundation I have given it will remain."<sup>1</sup> His clairvoyance was not amiss. French biblical exegesis had reached a new zenith with Reuss, whose work was hailed throughout the country both in and out of the church. Renan praised it as an epoch making publication in Hebrew and Oriental studies which was clear, based on sound method, and a veritable biblical encyclopedia.<sup>2</sup>

Unusually penetrating was Reuss's work on the Old Testament prophets. His technical analysis in grammar and translation was superb, but of greater significance was the way in which he illuminated the ethical and social aspects of the prophetic message. The prophets declared that the cult of sacrifices was to be replaced by the religion of justice and goodness in which men looked with vision to the new Jerusalem and messianic humanity.

Although Reuss did not have the eloquence of Renan, he surpassed most biblical scholars of his time in sensitivity to art and life itself. There were times when he was less concerned with text critical problems, especially in Hebrew poetry, e.g. Psalms and Song of Songs, and more with the

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1. T. Gérold, Edouard Reuss, notice biographique, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1892) 61.

2. JA 16(1879) 4.

artistic and moral values. Reuss without question moved more toward a comprehensive criticism, one of synthesis and reconstruction.<sup>1</sup>

Though advanced in years Reuss published in 1881, only two years after the release of his Bible, the volume Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments.<sup>2</sup> He followed a chronological order in studying the literature, but described the characteristics of its development in the light of their integral relationship to culture and society, especially political and social history.

In 1888 at the age of 85 he retired, and when he died in 1891, his 45th volume of the Opera Calvini was in the process of publication. In these last years Reuss had also undertaken a German counterpart to his French Bible.

Simultaneous with the career of this brilliant Strasbourger were the careers of two of his students who became leaders in the school, Timothée Colani and Edmund Scherer. Colani was born on January 25, 1824, at Lemé not far from the Franco-Belgian frontier. Following in the footsteps of his father, he entered the ministry of the Reformed Church. His interests gravitated toward biblical science while at the University of Strasbourg. It was there in 1850 that he founded and became editor of the Revue de Strasbourg to which Reuss was the most prolific and significant contributor in its early years.

Colani's contributions to biblical study were mostly in

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1. BR, 26.

2. I-II (Braunschweig: Schwetsckle, 1881); English trans. by E. L. Houghton, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1884).

the field of New Testament,<sup>1</sup> as exemplified by his doctoral thesis of 1864, Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps, in which he asserted, contrary to Renan,<sup>2</sup> that "the Son of Man" had no messianic connotations.

In 1862 Colani was called to Strasbourg's Church of Saint Nicolas, and two years later when his thesis was completed he was appointed to the theological faculty of the University. After the siege of Strasbourg in 1870, he left to enter French politics, only to suffer failure in the venture and find refuge on the staff of the Sorbonne library until his death in 1888.

While speculation on what Colani's contributions to French biblical science might have been if he had remained in the field is an interesting exercise, it is futile. However, because of his founding and editing of the Revue de Strasbourg he made possible the widespread fame of the Strasbourg School and the scientific historical method as applied to biblical criticism.

Scherer was born in Paris in 1815 and reared in the reformed orthodox tradition. His life was wrought with the struggle between the intellectual honesty which became imperative for him when later a professor at Strasbourg and his orthodox origins. Scherer came to the University in 1836 and was immediately impressed by Reuss's method, but

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1. See J. Marty, Timothee Colani, théologien Protestante, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1947).

2. E. Renan, La vie de Jésus, (2 ed.; Paris: Lévy, 1863).



not his theology. The former became the backbone of his scholarly investigations; the latter only a source of agony. However, he could not employ the method of Reuss without raising serious questions about plenary inspiration. An inner struggle ensued which came to a head in Geneva where he had accepted a chair on the faculty of l'École Oratoire de Théologie in 1841. After only eight years his reservations about orthodoxy forced him to submit his resignation. The following year, 1850, he published his celebrated letters on criticism and faith.<sup>1</sup>

In these letters Scherer forced the choice between scientific research and faith. He found it impossible to believe even remotely in establishing the original text of the Bible. Furthermore, the men who wrote it were largely dependent on their environment. Such a conclusion raised serious questions about scriptural authority. The predominance of Reuss' method in Scherer's work was obvious. Hence he could no longer have faith in the letter of the scriptures, only the spirit. This position placed him firmly within the Strasbourg School tradition.

Abandoned by his Geneva colleagues, he was befriended by his Strasbourg comrades, and the articles which voiced his new orientation appeared in the Revue de Strasbourg. Of special interest is the article, "De l'interpretation de l'Ancien Testament par les écrivains de Noveau."<sup>2</sup> Here

1. E. Scherer, La question biblique, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1905). This book contains the original letters.

2. The Revue de Strasbourg was also called the Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne. Scherer's article appeared in RTPC 9(1854) 65-84.

Scherer with keen erudition discussed the misuse and misquoting of the Old Testament text in the New Testament, and the problems involved in reliance upon the Septuagint and the Greek interpretation of the Hebrew, as well as that of accepting without question the rabbinical interpretations of the same in the Talmud. This brief article forcefully shattered the orthodox position that "scripture must be interpreted with scripture."<sup>1</sup>

Like Colani he entered French politics after 1870 and remained there until his death in 1889. However, unlike Colani, he had a successful political career serving in the National Assembly representing the Department of Seine-et-Oise.

Although Colani and Scherer both left the field of biblical criticism and theology, their efforts in the development of the principles of scientific research, which were inherent in the Strasbourg movement from its inception, cannot be overlooked as insignificant. They made valuable inroads in the evolution of French biblical science. Reuss had given the impetus to the movement, Colani its means of formal communication, and Scherer dealt a crushing blow to the bonds of orthodox biblicism in France.

Another student of Reuss who was destined for fame as a pioneer in Pentateuchal criticism was K. H. Graf. He began to formulate systematically a theory of the literary evolution

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1. Cf. the other articles of Scherer, "De l'Enseignement de Jésus," *RTPC* 7(1853) 37-49 and "Les errata de Nouveau Testament," 9(1854) 129-168.



of the Pentateuch and Old Testament religion. While he was thought by many to have been the initiator of the rudimentary elements of the documentary theory, JEDP, his correspondence with Reuss reveals that it was, in fact, from his teacher that these ideas had sprung.<sup>1</sup> Reuss in his lectures at the University had studied the "documents" of the Pentateuch with an eye toward the chronology of sources and the evolution of institutions and ideas. The broad lines of his theory included the Yahwist and Elohist accounts of the ninth and eighth centuries, the prophets, the Deuteronomic Reform, the Priestly legislation, the Psalms and Wisdom literature.<sup>2</sup> However, Graf was the first Old Testament scholar to publish a synthesis of Reuss's approach.<sup>3</sup> He was frank to declare that he was in his teacher's debt for his scientific analysis of Israelite history, and especially the Pentateuch upon which everything else depended.<sup>4</sup>

At Strasbourg the foundation had been laid for an evolutionary approach to the history of Israel's literature and religion.<sup>5</sup>

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1. As early as 1833 in his lectures at Strasbourg according to Graf. Cf. K. Budde and H. J. Holtzmann, eds., Reuss' Briefwechsel mit K. H. Graf, (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1904) 503.

2. BR, 23.

3. K. H. Graf, Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments, (Leipzig: Weigle, 1865). Here he affirmed what Reuss had said about P being the latest of the four main sources.

4. Ibid.

5. A. Lods, "l'École de Strasbourg", RHR 81(1920) 105-134. Another of Reuss's students, A. Kayser, is of significance. In his Das voralexandrische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen, (Strasbourg: Schmidt, 1874) he confirmed the views of Graf. Cf. Die Theologie des Alten Testaments in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt, (Strasbourg: Schmidt, 1886).



It was, of course, Wellhausen who would give the documentary hypothesis its definitive form, which would be followed by scholars for years to come. But it was over fifty years from the time that Reuss first made his investigations until Wellhausen's presentation in Composition des Hexateuchs and Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. Subsequent discussions of Pentateuchal research were primarily guided by his lines of development.<sup>1</sup>

An outstanding figure who was not officially connected with the Strasbourg School but whose dialogue with its apolo- gists was itself a valuable contribution to French biblical science was Ernest Renan. He was born at Tréguier in the Côtes du Nord on February 28, 1823. In Renan, Brittany gave birth to one of France's most celebrated scholars--Hebraist, biblical student, philosopher, and writer. Renan was indeed a rare individual whose genius was apparent very early. Desiring to enter the priesthood he enrolled at the Collège de St. Sulpice where he began his study of Hebrew. His mental prowess and grasp of Semitic philology blossomed immediately. His destiny seemed certain--a professor of Oriental languages in a Catholic seminary. Philological studies, however, raised serious questions for him about the Roman Catholic Church's

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1. Wellhausenism spread much more rapidly in Germany than in French speaking countries. There were, of course, some followers. Most notable in France were Charles Bruston and Alexandre Westphal both of the Protestant Seminary at Montauban (Westphal later moved to Paris), and Charles Pipenbring at Strasbourg. Lucien Gautier of Lausanne and later Geneva was also a spokesman for a modified Wellhausenism. Bruston, Westphal, and Gautier were all Causse's professors.

position on scripture. He could not believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, nor that Second Isaiah belonged to the same writer as First Isaiah. It seemed that finding even one error in the text shattered the whole of the Church's authoritarian view of scripture. No doubt linked to his changing conception of the Bible was the great influence on him of German philosophers and historians whose scientific method he found inviting.

On October 9, 1845, upon his return to St. Sulpice, he was informed that he had been appointed professor in the Archbishop of Paris's new Carmelite College. Renan pondered the acceptance which would mean essentially his assent to the Church's position on scripture. His conscience and intellectual integrity would not permit him to do so. Hence he left St. Sulpice and the priesthood. An eventful life followed, finding him in various teaching positions, travelling to the Orient, continuing his research, and in January of 1862 being appointed to the chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France. This was primarily a chair of biblical criticism and his appointment aroused little favor among Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

Renan owed much to Reuss for his wisdom and critical information; however, he remained a disciple of Ewald until his death in 1891. Ewald's critical positions by that time had been surpassed for the most part, and this sometimes gives Renan's work the impression of predating Reuss. One of Renan's first works in the field of Old Testament was l'Histoire

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1. A. M. F. Robinson, The Life of Ernest Renan, (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1898) 48f. and 149f.

comparée des langues semitiques (1855) which set Semitic philology on a sound basis, even though he did not have the benefit of many archeological discoveries yet to be made, such as the Ugaritic literature of Ras Shamra.

By far his most important work for French Old Testament study was his l'Histoire d'Israël (1887-93) begun at the age of 60. In 1885 he began to spend his summers in Brittany where he rented a house at Rosmapamon, which clung to a slope overlooking a bay.<sup>1</sup> It was here that he worked on l'Histoire d'Israël. "Thus the patriarchal life of which he had dreamed in L'Eau de Jouvence became a reality."<sup>2</sup>

What are the positive aspects of the work?

(a) Renan was "the first to catch sight of the role of the nomadic ideal and of the nostalgia of the patriarchal past in the history of the Yahwist religion."<sup>3</sup> Israel's origin was both nomadic and semi-nomadic. In the development of Israel's religion there are two rival forces vying for priority--progress toward civilization, toward culture, and the nomadic ideal. Israel in the face of new cultures looked back to the nomadic life.<sup>4</sup> The tension is apparent in the prophets who manifest this rivalry in their plea to the Israelites to return to their tents and to the God of their fathers.

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1. H. W. Wardman, Ernest Renan, (London: Athlone, 1964) 179.

2. Ibid.

3. BR, 34.

4. Renan, l'Histoire I, 61-63, 110; II, 289.



(b) Israel's mission is clearly defined in terms of triumph over evil, the protest of human conscience, and the call to a better future. Renan sees that mission as the creation of Christianity and views it within the context of human history.<sup>1</sup>

(c) The development of the Jewish religious conscience is imaginatively explored by Renan through the literature of the Old Testament. Therefore, history and literary history are integrally and successfully related. The aspect of historical literary criticism alone commends his work.

(d) Renan puts the prophets at the heart of Old Testament thought. This lends some originality to his research. He views the unique work of the Old Testament as that of the prophets. They were the ones who had introduced morality into religion. While the antecedent of ninth century prophetism was the ancient ideal of the patriarchal life, the prophets moved beyond this attachment to enlarged horizons of humanity and social justice.<sup>2</sup>

(e) Renan envisions an evolution from nomadic life step by step from the primitive tribes to the conquest, to Jerusalem, the temple, the law, and accompanied by a development from prophetism to apocalypticism and messianism. This evolution embodies three main aspects: the tension between tribal elohism and the idea of a universal god, the clash of political power and social ideals, and the conflict between the sacerdotal

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1. Renan, l'Histoire V, 415.

2. Ibid., II, 466-506; III, 148-175, 403-411.

system and free inspiration.<sup>1</sup>

(f) Renan writes in poetical prose which has continued to commend the reading of l'Histoire d'Israël.<sup>2</sup> It is a literary masterpiece filled with imaginative eloquence which projects the reader into the spirit of the life and thought of ancient Israel. In the literature of few biblical scholars does one find such harmonious equilibrium on the whole, such graceful lines, and such succinct chapters which always end at the right place. In addition the writer displays a sensitivity to nature and the inner soul of humanity. Renan's l'Histoire d'Israël is a symphony of science and art; it is serene and only rarely superficial. His emphasis on broad lines of development gave his work more historic synthesis than that of Reuss, primarily because the latter was so closely bound to the Canon and did not have Renan's background in comparative religious studies.

What are the negative aspects of the work?

(a) Some of his analogies are rather ambiguous. He claims, for example, that prophetism has actual analogies with modern journalism.<sup>3</sup> He called Amos "the patron of the radical publicists."<sup>4</sup>

(b) The author assumes without careful consideration that

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1. L. W. Mott, Ernest Renan, (New York: Appleton, 1921) 416.

2. See his magnificent pages on Sinai, I, 183-195 and the beautiful description of Hebrew language, I, 102-103.

3. Renan, l'Histoire, II, 486.

4. Ibid., 425.

the desert period was monotheistic.

(c) Renan excludes the supernatural, affirming that everything has its human explanation. This sounds like the declarations of nineteenth and twentieth century French sociology wherein religion was simply an outgrowth and function of society. On this point Renan differed from Reuss, who did not conceive of the historian merely as a "seeker of causes."<sup>1</sup>

(d) Beyond mentioning the difficulties of specifically delineating the J and E sources<sup>2</sup> where he found the facts more complex than the theories, he does not mention the four source theory of the Pentateuch or the problem of Deutero-Isaiah. The Priestly legislation is dated before the exile, and Renan demonstrates his desire to remain free of Wellhausen's schematization.<sup>3</sup> While the latter is not a negative aspect within itself, he did fail to evaluate adequately the problems which Wellhausen had raised.

(e) His dependence on past biblical criticism makes his argument sometimes misleading. For example, he maintained that J was of Ephraimite origin<sup>4</sup> and that Joel was one of the oldest prophets;<sup>5</sup> he put the composition of the Song of Songs and Job in the period of Hezekiah,<sup>6</sup> and dated the Priestly

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1. Ibid., I.

2. Ibid., II, 343 note.

3. Ibid., III, 64, 243.

4. Ibid., II, 339.

5. Ibid., II, 440.

6. Ibid., III, 77f., 87f.



Code redactor about 820.<sup>1</sup>

Renan had hoped more than anything else to restore Semitic studies to a place of importance in France. However, it is a strange commentary on his life that when his successor, Philippe Berger,<sup>2</sup> died, the renowned chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France which dated from the first days of the institution was abolished. While the immediate effects of Renan's work were limited, in no small measure because of Roman Catholic objection to him, he along with Reuss had been the guiding light in the development of the study of Christian origins, the history of comparative religion, and especially the development of the religion of Israel and biblical exegesis.

It has been noted that Renan was not a Strasbourger, but that he was sympathetic with the movement.<sup>3</sup> His correspondence with the University faculty is an interesting chapter in French biblical criticism itself.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Renan had been heavily dependent on Reuss whom he greatly admired.<sup>5</sup> The interest of the faculty in Renan's research and discussion of it in the Revue provided a main avenue for

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1. Ibid., II, 381.

2. Berger was a student of Reuss at Strasbourg who became secretary to Renan in Paris and later his successor at the Collège de France.

3. Supra, 48.

4. J. Pommier, Renan et Strasbourg, (Paris: Alcan, 1926) 159-197; correspondence with Colani, Reuss, Sabatier, Réville.

5. Ibid., on Old Testament influence 58-64. Cf. Renan, "Preface," xx; JA 16(1879) 4f.

making his work known in France.

Although during Renan's lifetime more discussion was stirred up in New Testament criticism because of his Vie de Jésus than in Old Testament criticism, one must not forget that his first interest was in reviving Semitic studies in his homeland. Today Renan's l'Histoire d'Israël is probably read more than the works of Reuss, whose original contributions to Old Testament science have often been obscured.<sup>1</sup> But it was the latter who, through his students, the Revue, and correspondence, brought rich notoriety to Renan as well to Old Testament studies in general in France. The interest in the history of religions sparked by Reuss and complimented by Renan led to a series of significant works in France which were largely the product of the Strasbourg School, within about a fifteen year period after the publication of Reuss's Bible.<sup>2</sup>

Reuss had provided the fiber of Pentateuchal criticism,

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1. P. Lobstein, "Edouard Reuss, notes et souvenirs," RHPR 1(1921) 443-444.

2. A. Réville, The Song of Songs, trans. from French, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873); F. Lichtenberger, ed., l'Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses, I-XIII, (Paris: Librairie Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1877-1882); translation of l'Histoire des religions de l'Égypte et des peuples sémitiques of Tiele from German by Collins and Réville, cf. English translation by J. Ballingal, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882); L. Leblois, Bibles et les initiateurs religieux de l'humanité, I-VI, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1883-88); S. Berger, l'Histoire de la Bible française au moyen âge, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1884); Bible au xvie siècle, (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1879); Histoire de Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge, (Paris: Hachette, 1893); C. Piepenbring, Théologie de l'Ancien Testament, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1886), English translation by H. G. Mitchell, (New York: Crowell, 1893); Histoire du peuple d'Israël, (Paris: Grossart, 1898).

and through his student K. H. Graf it would become the core of the evolutionary historical approach which was made popular in Germany by Wellhausen. Thus German Old Testament criticism owes no small debt to the Strasbourg School. It was not just a sounding board in the French language for methods applied by scholars of other nationalities, especially German, to the study of religion. "The Alsacian scholars had, on certain points, made important contributions to the general progress of this branch of science and also assured the development of the history of religions a more honorable place in France."<sup>1</sup>

### PART THREE: CRISIS AND TRANSITION

The influence of the Strasbourg School persisted in spite of Roman Catholic and conservative Protestant pressures, but with difficulty. Its exegetical and critical traditions were confirmed by those brave scholars who were determined to be heard. Alas, the publication of the Revue ceased with Alfred Carrière, its last editor. Some Strasbourgers remained. Maurice Vernes in the department of religious sciences at the Collège de France and A. Réville and Jean Réville continued to keep alive Reuss's methods in the Revue d'Histoire des Religions. Other disciples were Auguste Sabatier and Samuel Berger who were both still on the Protestant faculty of theology at Paris.

The turn of the twentieth century was a time of crisis for biblical studies in France. Ecclesiastical pressures were

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1. A. Lods, "l'Ecole de Strasbourg," RHR 81(1920) 106.



intensified. The chair of Hebrew at the Collège de France ended with Philippe Berger, and the Protestant theological faculty was officially excluded from the field of higher education. There were some positions in the history of religions throughout France which were maintained, but on the whole, in the country which had spawned a Simon and an Astruc, biblical science remained under suspicion.<sup>1</sup>

There remained, however, some brave voices. At the Protestant Seminary of Montauban where Causse studied beginning in 1896, Charles Bruston lectured on and published his theory of the two Yahwist sources as well as some interesting investigations on the prophets and other aspects of Old Testament study.<sup>2</sup> Also at Montauban Alexandre Westphal formulated his extensive Les sources du Pentateuque and other textual research.<sup>3</sup> Both men followed in large measure the results of Wellhausen, and their works made a lasting imprint on

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1. A. Causse, "Notes sur le développement des études d'Ancien Testament en France," RHPR 20 (1940) 48.

2. C. Bruston, Les deux Jéhovistes, (Montauban: Laforgue, 1885); cf. Les Psaumes, (Paris: Meyrueis, 1865); Du texte primitif des Psaumes, (Paris: Meyrueis, 1873); Les inscriptions assyriennes et l'Ancien Testament, (Montauban: Vidallet, 1875); Histoire critique de la littérature prophétique des Hébreux depuis les origines jusqu'à la mort d'Isaïe, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1881); Études sur Daniel et l'Apocalypse, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1896); Études phéniciennes, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1903); Les inscriptions en Hébreu archaïque et celle d'Eshmoun-azar, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1909). See also A. Arnal, "Le Doyen Charles Bruston," ETR 12(1937) 135-140.

3. A. Westphal, Le Deutéronome, (Toulouse: Chauvin, 1891); Les sources du Pentateuque, I-II, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1888-1892); Jéhovah, les étapes de la révélation dans l'histoire du peuple d'Israël, (Paris: Librairie générale et Protestante, 1908); Les prophètes, (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1924).

Causse's scholarship especially as regards the Pentateuch.

In French speaking Switzerland some universities and schools of theology continued the Strasbourg tradition, as at Lausanne through its Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie. At Geneva Lucien Gautier, who directed Causse's doctoral thesis, wrote his Introduction à l'Ancien Testament (1906)<sup>1</sup> which was essentially a modified Wellhausen appraisal of Old Testament literature in a comprehensive framework with a watchful eye to historical development and religious values. Causse remarked in 1940 that this "book marked a decisive moment in the history of French language biblical studies; after a quarter of a century it still has its value today."<sup>2</sup>

Between 1890 and 1903 questions regarding biblical exegesis began to be seriously raised in the Roman Catholic camp. Conservative exegesis was insufficient for those who were trained in the disciplines of biblical science. There was no question that the liberal Protestant exegetes had far surpassed the Roman Catholics.

Despite opposition, the liberal tradition of Strasbourg began to hear sympathetic voices among some Roman Catholics. One of the most significant was that of Alfred Loisy.<sup>3</sup> Born in 1857 to peasant parents in the village of Ambrières de

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1. It was reedited in 1914 and 1939.

2. A. Causse, "Notes sur le développement des études d'Ancien Testament en France," RHPR 20(1940) 48-49.

3. See the thorough volume of A. Houtin and Félix Sarriaux, Alfred Loisy, sa vie - son oeuvre, (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960).



- Champagne, he was destined because of ill health for work less physically taxing than that of his parents. Very early he decided to enter the priesthood and when of age entered the seminary at Chalons-sur-Marne.

Before long Loisy was assailed by innumerable reservations regarding the authoritarianism of the church for which he had such love and devotion. The decree of Papal Infallibility of the Vatican Council caused him no small measure of inner duress.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, he was ordained to the priesthood in June of 1879. After serving two years in a small parish, he returned to Paris to continue his study, being assured he was not suited for the pastoral ministry. It was there at the École pratique des Hautes Études that Renan taught him Hebrew. Loisy felt a lifelong debt to his teacher. He said of him, "Renan taught me to examine the texts of the Bible scientifically, and what I inferred from his lessons was that the scientific commentary of the Bible, in the Catholic Church, had to be recast from its foundation if it was to be adapted to the actual condition of contemporary culture."<sup>2</sup> Like Renan he became a teacher.

When Loisy publicly contested the historical nature of the first chapters of Genesis, students were not permitted to attend his lectures. The following year, 1893, the authorities, hoping to diminish his scholarly interests shuttled

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1. Cf. A. Loisy, My Duel with The Vatican, trans. by R. W. Boynton, (New York: Dutton, 1924).

2. A Loisy, "From Credence to Faith," in Religion in Transition, ed. by V. Ferm, (New York: Macmillan, 1937) 131.



him off to be chaplain of a girl's school at Neuilly-sur-Seine. This action had been preceded by an encyclical in November of that year by Pope Leo XIII entitled Providentissimus on the subject of biblical studies and followed six years later by another reprimanding liberal biblical exegetes.<sup>1</sup> Loisy had been mentioned in neither, but one did not have to wonder if he was one of those to whom the encyclicals were directed.

In 1900 Loisy began a series of articles in Revue du Clergé française which would ultimately comprise the volume, La religion d'Israël. The articles invoked the wrath of Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, who immediately condemned them, finding them contrary to Providentissimus. Loisy, however, managed a non-commercial printing of his La religion d'Israël in 1901. The second edition did not appear until 1908,<sup>2</sup> three years after the anti-clerical party in France had precipitated the separation of church and state. This milestone in the history of French Catholicism was construed by many to be a vindication of Loisy's position. In the summer of 1907 the Papal decree Lamentabili condemned Catholic modernism which included Loisy's interpretation of biblical exegesis. This pinching of the liberal spirit was intensified by the Papal Bull, Pascendi, of September 8, 1907. Loisy

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1. M. J. Lagrange, M. Loisy et le modernisme, (Juvisy: Cerf, n. d.) 118f.

2. It was not actually released until June of 1909. Cf. English translation by A. Galton, (New York: Putnam, 1910).

could not subscribe to these proclamations,<sup>1</sup> which it was made mandatory that he do. Therefore, on March 7, 1908, he was excommunicated.<sup>2</sup> He had sincerely hoped to stay within Catholicism and lead a reformation of biblical scholarship. Shortly after his excommunication he was called to the chair of History of Religions at the Collège de France where he succeeded Jean Réville.

In 1933 the third edition of La religion d'Israël appeared, but it must be remembered that the largest part of this work was completed while he was still a Roman Catholic. Essentially he had attempted to adapt the results of the Wellhausen School to French Catholic exegesis. His pattern of investigation was almost identical with the first and second editions: origins, ancient Yahwism, prophecy, Judaism and law, and messianism. Loisy's much too collectivist view of Israelite religion unhappily caused him to ignore for the most part the individualism of the prophets and psalmists. His discussion of the religion of the law and the growth and development of the Jewish community was the highlight of the work.<sup>3</sup> He demonstrated excellent command of the texts, solid exegesis, clear historical analysis, and lucid integration of textual and historical phenomena. The inception of Jewish messianism Loisy placed at the end of the captivity when

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1. Lamentabili and Pascendi may be found in P. Sabatier, Modernism, (New York: Scribner, 1908) 217-343.

2. It was no doubt the turmoil created by such judgment that delayed publication of La religion d'Israël.

3. Ibid., 193-236.

Israel was truly denationalized.

Loisy's work was monumental because of its overall synthetic, historical evolutionary structure, its erudition, and its clear style which "continued the criticism of Renan in the best French tradition."<sup>1</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth century another sympathetic Roman Catholic scholar appeared in the man Marie-Joseph Lagrange. In him the liberal spirit of the Strasbourg School would in modified fashion work its way into Catholic biblical studies. But his destiny was to be different from that of Loisy. Despite his liberal views he would succeed in escaping excommunication.

Lagrange was born on March 7, 1855, at Bourg-en-Bresse.<sup>2</sup> Upon completing his classical education he entered law school in Paris. Five years later, 1878, upon receiving his law degree he decided to enter the Seminary of St. Sulpice not far from Paris and become a priest. It was there that he, like Renan, nurtured a growing interest in biblical studies. After becoming a Dominican priest in 1883, he became a professor of Church History and Philosophy. Yet, his interests in serious Bible study continued. Between 1888 and 1890 he studied oriental languages at the University of Vienna. In

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1. Causse, "Notes sur développement des études d'Ancien Testament en France," RHPR 20(1940) 62.

2. Cf. L. H. Vincent, "Le Père Lagrange," RB 47(1938) 321-354. This is an excellent summary of the life and work of Lagrange with an informative section on his early years, 322-332. See also F. M. Braun, L'Oeuvre du Père Lagrange, (Fribourg: Imprimerie St-Paul, 1943); English trans. by R. T. A. Murphy, (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1963).



the year 1890 Lagrange was ready to become a biblical professor at the University of Toulouse, but suddenly he found himself sent to Jerusalem to establish a school for biblical studies at the convent of Saint-Etienne. Trying times ensued with limited funds, facilities, personnel, and no library. At the beginning of the next year he founded the Revue Biblique to serve as a school bulletin. It began publication in January, 1892. Some outstanding Old Testament scholars came out of the early years of the newly founded l'École Biblique including Vincent, Jaussen, and Dhorme.

Before going to Jerusalem Lagrange had begun a commentary on the entire Bible. The work continued after his arrival and in 1903 his Commentaire du livre des Juges was published. One of his more outstanding publications in this period was La méthode historique (1902), the result of six lectures given at the Catholic University of Toulouse. Herein Lagrange spelled out the evolutionary approach and liberal spirit which was to guide his scholarship. It was clear that he felt uncomfortable with traditional Catholic exegesis and its concept of verbal inerrancy. Studies in philology, archeology, geography, and ethnography militated against such a view. How could a priest taking this view remain in the good grace of the church? The clue is found in the words of F. J. Schroeder: "P. Lagrange, convinced that there can be no conflict between science and the Bible, took, not the defensive, but the offensive. He used the same methods, the same scientific criticism as the Rationalists; he faced facts. Yet, he did so, grounded on faith,

to prove the truth and worth of the Bible by determining its meaning in its historical, social, religious, and intellectual milieu, through the 'historical method.'"<sup>1</sup> Even though Lagrange gave his assent to the Catholic doctrine of scripture, he was attacked by many who said his was a tongue-in-cheek position.<sup>2</sup>

It was an unfortunate coincidence for Lagrange that his La méthode historique and Loisy's l'Évangile et l'Église were published in the same year, 1902. In the latter the author attempted to show the difference between the Christ of faith and the Christ of history. It was inevitable that the work of both men would be linked as undermining the church, and probably done in collaboration. Nothing could have been farther from the truth. Loisy could not and would not accept the Church's traditional view of scriptural inspiration. Lagrange did so willingly. It was this which hampered his work more than anything else, for although he employed the canons of biblical science he did so always with a view toward fitting the conclusions into the doctrine of the Church.

Lagrange submitted to Lamentabili and Pascendi; Loisy refused. The clamor of opposition and Loisy's excommunication produced a strange silence in Lagrange who was deter-

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1. F. J. Schroeder, Père Lagrange and Biblical Inspiration, (Washington: Catholic University, 1954) 3.

2. R. P. Delattre compiled a lengthy attack against Lagrange in Autour de la question biblique: Une nouvelle école d'exégèse et les autorités qu'elle invoque, (Liege; n.p., 1904). Lagrange's reply in 1906 was never published, Éclaircissement sur la méthode historique, à propos d'un livre du R. P. Delattre, S. J.

mined to remain faithful to the Church. The criticism aimed at him was not unlike that leveled by conservative Protestants at a liberal like Reuss.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of Lagrange's submission, in 1912 he was temporarily replaced in Jerusalem by Père Cormier, and he returned to France complying with the demands of the Church.<sup>2</sup> Only a year later the Pope ordered his return to l'École Biblique, and resumption of his exegetical studies was immediate.<sup>3</sup> Although World War I forced the closing of the school, peacetime again found Lagrange at Jerusalem diligently continuing his work.

The importance of Lagrange cannot be overestimated,<sup>4</sup> for he was the first French Roman Catholic scholar to follow in

1. Braun, op. cit., 99-100.

2. Loisy criticizes him heavily for this action in Memoires pour servir à l'histoire religieuse de notre temps, II, (Paris: Nourry, 1931) 252-254.

3. Lagrange had begun a series called Études bibliques at the Jerusalem school in which a distinguished group of works was published in its first years: M. J. Lagrange, La méthode historique, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1902); Le livre des Juges, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1903); Études sur les religions sémitiques, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1905); H. Vincent, Canaan d'après l'exploration récente, (Paris: Gabalda, 1907); E. Dhorme, Choix de textes religieux assyro-babyloniens, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1907); A. van Hoonacker, Les Douze petits prophètes, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1908); A. J. Jaussen, Coûtures des Arabes au pays du Moab, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1908); M. J. Lagrange, Messianisme chez les Juifs, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1909); E. Dhorme, Commentaires des livres des Samuel, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1910); A. Condamin, Livre d'Isaïe, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1910); E. Podechard, L'Ecclésiaste, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1912); H. Vincent, Jérusalem antique, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1912).

4. Cf. Schökel, op. cit., 25-33.



the liberal tradition of the Strasbourg School who at the same time was able to remain in good standing with the Church. The impact of his scholarship was felt among leading Protestant scholars also. "The greatest influence of P. Lagrange lies, perhaps, in his inauguration, or at least in sparking the new movement which led Catholic biblical scholars out of the impasse created by a wrong attitude towards inspiration."<sup>1</sup>

It was in this same period, 1890-1920, when biblical matters were in such turmoil--a period of crisis and transition--that Antonin Causse was schooled in the discipline of biblical criticism, began his publications, and came to the University of Strasbourg to continue the rich heritage of scientific research left by Reuss. Causse was a product of his time guided by the French and German scholars who had liberated biblical studies from Protestant biblicism and Roman Catholic authoritarianism. He was committed to the principles of freedom of inquiry and the use of the scientific method for which the Strasbourg School had stood from its beginning.

Causse's work reflects the imprint of Edouard Reuss.

The following are points of similarity and congruity:

- (1) absence of apologetic attachments in their research;<sup>2</sup>
- (2) illumination of the ethical and social aspects of the prophetic message and the declaration that the fulfillment of Israel's mission was the realization of the justice of

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1. Schroeder, op. cit., 37-38.

2. Supra, p. 41. This principle for which Reuss so rigidly stood became a vital standard of the Strasbourg movement.

Yahweh; (3) a chronological study of Old Testament literature<sup>1</sup> while describing the characteristics of its development in the light of the integral relationship to culture and society, especially political and social history; (4) emphasis on a comprehensive criticism, one of synthesis and reconstruction;<sup>2</sup> and (5) a deep sense of art and life itself.<sup>3</sup>

Like Colani, Causse founded and edited a periodical<sup>4</sup> of the theological faculty of the University of Strasbourg and following in the steps of Reuss was one of its most prolific and significant contributors in the area of biblical criticism.

Causse harvested much from the literature of Renan, especially his l'Histoire d'Israël. The following aspects of Causse's research appear to be rooted in the work of Renan: (1) emphasis on the role of the nomadic ideal and of the nostalgia of the patriarchal life and the tension between progress toward civilization and the nomadic ideal;<sup>5</sup> (2) evolution from nomadic life to the Jewish community involving tension between tribal elohism and a universal god, clash of political power and social ideals, and conflict between the sacerdotal system and free inspiration;<sup>6</sup> (3) stress on the

1. Supra, p. 46. However, Causse did not make the bulk of the Psalms post-exilic as did Reuss. Cf. PI, IVH, GE.

2. Supra, p. 42.

3. Ibid.

4. Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse.

5. Supra, p. 43.

6. Supra, pp. 51-52. Cf. P. Humbert, "Renan historien de l'hébraïsme," Opuscules d'un Hébraïsant, (Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1958) 23.

centrality of prophetism in the evolution of Old Testament history and thought, and its endorsement of human and social justice which gave Israelite religion its moral fibre;<sup>1</sup> (4) definition of Israel's mission in terms of the protest of conscience and the realization of Yahweh's justice;<sup>2</sup> (5) delineation of the economic and social factors which were created by the transition from the nomadic life of the desert to the sedentary life of Canaan.

Like Renan, Causse's broad lines of emphasis gave his work more historic synthesis than that of Reuss, especially since he was not so bound to the canon as the latter and had a broader background in comparative religious studies.

Causse, of course, went beyond Renan at many points. He did not statically posit monotheism in the desert period as had Renan.<sup>3</sup> He dealt more adequately with the problems raised by the documentary theory,<sup>4</sup> and did not display a stagnant dependence on past biblical criticism.<sup>5</sup> Rather he sought new means of elucidating the general lines of Israel's historical, religious, and literary evolution. The broad lines of evolutionary emphasis laid out by Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen were integrated with the theory of French sociology namely that of Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl, to provide a unique

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1. Supra, p. 51.

2. Ibid.

3. See PIR.

4. Supra, p. 53.

5. Supra, p. 49.



analysis of the development of Old Testament religion.<sup>1</sup>

It is Renan who served as Causse's literary model. From the "master historian," as he called him, he had learned how to relate history and literary development in a poetical prose which is delightful reading. When one reads Causse he finds the same imaginative eloquence which thrusts one dynamically into the life of the past so characteristic of Renan. There is the same fluidity of style, the graceful line, and lyrical quality. Indeed Causse and Renan are among the few biblical scholars who charm the reader while explaining the detail of scientific analysis both historical and textual. J. D. Benoit has said of Causse, "Son grand mérite, à mon sens, est d'avoir écrit ses livres en un français non seulement correct, mais élégant, en évitant les terms savants et barbares, les néologismes, les 'germanismes,' et en restant à cet égard dans la voie ouverte par Renan, voie bien peu suivie aujourd'hui, où le pédantesque triomphe."<sup>2</sup>

The parallel elements in the lives and works of Causse and Renan are interesting. They are no doubt largely the result of Causse's utter enchantment with Renan's life and

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1. Since the third chapter of the thesis deals with the influence of French sociology on Causse, detailed comments on this matter will be reserved until that point. Suffice it to say the early 1900's was the time of the growing popularity of Durkheim, the father of French sociology. There was at Strasbourg during Causse's teaching career a follower of Durkheim, Maurice Halbwachs, who was an acquaintance of Causse and provided a personal means of dialogue on the subject of the form and content of French sociology.

2. Personal Letter, June 2, 1965.

literature.<sup>1</sup> There is likeness in literary style, critical approach, and similar obsession with the nostalgia of the patriarchal life.<sup>2</sup> As Renan had left memoirs of his youth, so did Causse.<sup>3</sup> In his works from the first to the last there is the shadow of Renan.

Antonin Causse was first and foremost a Frenchman, and an adherent of the Strasbourg tradition, and one cannot adequately understand his work unless the significance of this background is clearly seen. While his French intellectual heritage has been the main emphasis of this chapter, it has been done with no intention of ignoring the influences of German scholarship. After all, Causse attended the universities of Berlin and Halle for a time. It was there that the influences of Gunkel and Gressmann grew upon the young Frenchman, who applied and championed their form-critical method in France. From Gunkel he gained a grasp of the literary classification of Hebrew poetry,<sup>4</sup> as well as the idea that Old Testament apocalyptic was influenced by Babylonian

1. See, for example, his voluminous citations from Renan in SP and in the following: EE, 37; PIR, 17, 21, 24, 43, 74, 79, 92, 157, 171, 183, 254-256, 268; PI, 72, 96, 139; DI, 14, 30, 48, 54-55, 70; GE, 70, 92, 175, 252.

2. As Renan's retreats to Brittany in his later life were like the realization of the patriarchal dream, so were those of Causse to Marsalet amidst the simple, earthy surroundings so much like those of his childhood and youth.

3. Causse, ATA.

4. For example, see especially PCB (passim) in which Causse followed essentially Gunkel's classification of Hebrew poetry.



apocalyptic literature.<sup>1</sup> To Gressmann he owed in general his view of Israelite eschatology.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, not shocking to read Coppens' statement, "He [Causse] represents in France the dynamism of the Gunkel-Gressmann-Mowinckel<sup>3</sup> School," and therefore, as E. Jacob has well observed in a personal communication, Causse "n'est donc pas un pur Wellhausenien."<sup>4</sup>

It is the sociological approach to the study of Israelite religion that Causse made peculiarly his own. Having come to grips with his intellectual heritage, it is necessary to turn in the next chapter to a summary of the results of his investigations.

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1. Causse, EE, 56-57. See H. Gunkel's Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895).

2. Following Gressmann, Causse felt that in the pre-prophetic age there was a real popular eschatology and that the Day of Yahweh was an eschatological idea. This was a reaction against Wellhausenism which asserted that in the post-exilic era redactors had added most of the eschatological sayings found in the pre-exilic prophets. Causse, however, did not wish to exaggerate the importance of Egyptian parallels, as Gressmann had done, EE, 10, 45.

3. Causse was attracted by Mowinckel's application of the principles of religious sociology to the interpretation of Hebrew poetry. He agreed with Mowinckel that the poetry was intended for cultic use; however, he disagreed on an essential point of its origin. Contrary to Mowinckel, Causse maintained that while the ultimate aim of the poetry may have been use in the cult, many poems may have been composed by individuals and probably expressed personal responses of penitence, lamentation, etc. See especially POB, 4-5; cf. also Causse's view of the enthronement festival, GE, 132-133, in comparison with Mowinckel's view.

4. Personal letter, May 24, 1965.



## CHAPTER THREE

## CAUSSE'S SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL

## Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of Causse's sociological research on the religion of Israel. The critical positions presented are his own, unless otherwise indicated. They have been compiled from his numerous books and articles. The writer's intention is to present clearly the results of Causse's sociological analysis, rather than judge his critical positions.

## PART ONE: SOCIETY AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL

## A. THE CRISIS OF THE SOCIAL GROUP IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

With the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, Israelite society underwent a radical change. Having come into a land with an ancient culture, the Israelites became a sedentary people, living in established towns and villages. However, the social organization of the desert was retained. The family, bayit, remained the main stay of the social structure. The father was the head of the family and exercised his authority over sons and daughters, wives and concubines, and slaves.

"The regime of the patriarchate is definitely established."<sup>1</sup>

The father's authority as master, judge, and priest was absolute (to bless and curse Gen. 9:25-27; 27:26-40; to disinherit and sell into slavery Ex. 21:7; to put to death accor-

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1. GE, 16.

ding to judgment Gen. 27:24; 42:37).<sup>1</sup> Wives, which he could acquire and renounce at will, were personal property procured with the marriage price, mōhar. "The family is not an accidental and ephemeral institution, it is a society which perpetuates itself through certain rites and in the communion of holy things, maintenance of tombs, cults of the domestic 'ēlōhîm, and sacrificial meals, as a permanent tie between successive generations."<sup>2</sup>

The clan, mišpāhâ, is next in the social structure followed by the tribe, šēbet. These two social formations are closely related, being theoretically based on the bond of blood and common legendary ancestry.

The new sedentary existence in Canaan did, however, bring some changes to the social structure. The bond of the soil gradually replaces the bond of blood. Whereas the twelve tribes were once based on kinship and descendance, as with the eponyms of the descendants of Jacob, in the period of the monarchy the tradition has evolved to a state which permits arbitrary combinations in order to arrive at a fixed number.<sup>3</sup>

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1. GE, 17.

2. GE, 18.

3. Causse illustrates the arbitrary combinations by pointing out the listing of the tribes of Israel in Judges 5 and Deut. 33. He claims that one can account for only ten tribes which descended from Jacob. However, the fixed tradition of the number twelve permitted arbitrary combinations to complete the list from ten to twelve, GE, 18-19. The enumeration of the tribes in both the above passages is still the subject of much discussion. See M. Noth, The History of Israel, trans. by P. R. Ackroyd, (New York: Harper and Row, 1960) 54-55, 61f.; O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament, trans. by P. R. Ackroyd, (New York: Harper and Row, 1965) 100-101, 226-229; A. Weiser, The Old Testament Its Formation and Development, trans. by D. M. Barton, (New York: Association, 1963) 117-118; see especially on the sacrosanct nature of the number "twelve" J. Bright, A History of Israel, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959) 142-143.



The clan perpetuates itself as the basic social unit in Israelite society, as is seen in the clans of Gideon, Abimelech, Saul, and David. It differed from the family primarily in authority. It did not function through the absolute authority of a leader or chief. Political, economic, and domestic decisions were made by the elders, z<sup>e</sup>qēnîm, who rendered justice at the gate. Although these leaders sometimes had diverse functions, they were essentially equal. Since they did not exercise a monarchized authority "they are the living soul of the group which realizes its unity in them."<sup>1</sup>

Solidarity was characteristic of this closely knit social structure. The individual was dependent upon the group. No man was set apart. The individual was the indispensable element to the group and the group was the composite of the indispensable elements. Just as the body is composed of individual members necessary to the function of the whole, so is the community (Jdgs. 9:2, "'Remember,' said Abimelech to the people of the clan, 'that I am of your bone and of your flesh.'").<sup>2</sup>

Within this community of solidarity the actions of any one member had a general effect upon the whole as is seen in the function of the g<sup>e</sup>ûllâ, redemption. If one member murdered another, his own blood must be spilled in order that the blood of the murdered, whose death is corporately felt in the clan

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1. GE, 20.

2. Cf. L. Lévy-Bruhl, The "Soul" of the Primitive, trans. by Lilian A. Clare, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928) 87-127; and J. Pedersen, Israel, (London: Oxford, 1926) I-II, 263-310.



of which he is a part, be avenged (Gen. 4:23, 24).<sup>1</sup> The duty of vengeance grows out of a corporate and collective view of the cause, injury, and punishment.

"In all this it is not a question of a purely physiological kinship among the members of the group. The blood unity which it claims for itself is, a majority of the time, only theoretical and symbolical. In fact the kinship is a mystical bond, a community of the soul, realized through certain rites of fraternization. It rests, therefore, upon the covenant, b<sup>e</sup>rit. The covenant can be established by commensality."<sup>2</sup>

The covenant thus results in a physio-psychic unity in which activity and response share a common basis.<sup>3</sup> Prior to the covenant of David and Jonathan, I Sam. 18:1 states, "the soul of Jonathan is attached to the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his soul."

With the entrance into Canaan and establishment of sedentary life, nomadic ancestral traditions were on the whole retained, although some changes in social structure occurred. Territorial grouping was substituted for kinship grouping and the clan was largely assimilated into the village. The effects upon the clan were no doubt serious, as local ties became stronger and the struggle for community survival increased. However, the solidarity of the family, bayit, remained, and in the period of the monarchy it appears to have assumed some

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1. GE, 22.

2. GE, 23.

3. On blood covenants cf. GE, 24.

of the functions formerly exercised by the clan (e.g. blood vengeance, II Sam. 3:27; Num. 35:19-21. Cf. Lev. 25:49).<sup>1</sup>

Once Israel arrives in Canaan the institution of community property began to be replaced by that of family property.<sup>2</sup> With the apportionment of the cultivatable soil among families an Israelite agrarian society began to develop. From this point Israelite society had as its indispensable and binding element the institution of family property. A man without land was like a man without a country. To sell one's property was a sacrilege. But when one was forced to do so or died having no children to receive the inheritance, the next of kin assuming the role of the gō'ēl, redeemer, could purchase the inheritance (Lev. 25:25; Jer. 32:1-15; Ruth 4:1-6).<sup>3</sup> By this means the institution of family property maintained continuity of ownership.

Amidst the waning strength of the kinship grouping and the scattered condition of the clans of Palestine, the Israelites preserved tenaciously their moral unity with Yahweh as the heart of it. While settlements in varieties of locations made relationships among individuals and groups more tenuous, a community which went beyond these boundaries and barriers began to develop. Sacrifice became the communal act par excellence. "Through the intervening sacrificial

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1. GE, 26.

2. This is possibly motivated by the cult of the dead in which emphasis was placed on burial near one's house, and maintenance of ancestral rites. Ibid.

3. GE, 27.



victim, the worshipers sitting at the sacrificial table become participants in the same life and same mystic virtues: they are the kinsmen of God, communing with him through the same blood" (Gen. 15:9; Judg. 19:29; I Sam. 11:7; Jer. 25:17, 20).<sup>1</sup>

The power of the cult in solidifying the community cannot be overemphasized. Even in the family the father assumed a priestly role, directing its members in sacred rites and practices which perpetuated and affirmed the unity of the family (I Sam. 20:6, 29 where each family has its own feats and sacrifices).<sup>2</sup>

The Israelites were united by the realization that Yahweh directed them in all their affairs, and they became aware of the dynamic power of acts performed in his name.<sup>3</sup> Yahweh led Israel in war (warrior God--Ex. 15:3,6; 17:16; Num. 10:35-36; Judg. 7:18; Ps. 24:8)<sup>4</sup> and in peace. "He is the social God par excellence, who manifests himself in the relationships of family to family, clan to clan, or in the relations between contribules. He is the guardian of tribal custom, which is the rule of the just and good."<sup>5</sup>

Yahweh was no longer a nomadic 'ēlōhîm. He was now the God of the settled Israelites. Canaan had a long standing tra-

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1. GE, 29.

2. GE, 28.

3. GE, 28-29.

4. Ibid.

5. GE, 29.



dition of agrarian cults,<sup>1</sup> and now in the sanctuaries of the country the Baalim and Yahweh were worshiped side by side. Around the Baalim and Astaroth were grouped cults whose members demonstrated confidence in the power of these gods to produce fertile soil and from it, vegetation.

After establishment in Canaan the Israelite cult retained its primitive spontaneity. The father as priest offered the sacrifices on behalf of the family. On other occasions the villagers climbed to the neighboring high place, bāmâ, where by tradition ancestors had worshiped for centuries. Three times a year all the men of the clan must present themselves before Yahweh to offer the first fruits of the harvest and the first born of the flocks and to participate in a festival of sacrifice. In this way the essential and basic participation of Yahweh, the social group, and the earth was expressed.<sup>2</sup>

#### B. POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION AND THE DESEGREGATION OF THE ANCIENT GROUPS

- 1) Establishment of the monarchy and conflict with ancient organizations of groups

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1. Causse suggests that the Old Testament allusions to agrarian cult traditions, e.g. Gen. 27:28, 49:25; Ex. 20:23-26, 23:14-17, 34:18-24, have been confirmed by the texts of Ras Shamra, where El commands the heavens to produce rain for grass and streams flowing with honey. See R. Dussaud, Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1937) 79-80. Baal and Aliyan are the gods of the sources of nature, who make fountains give forth water and direct its course, produce rain in its season and preside over the harvest and the gathering of fruit. R. Dussaud, "Le mythe de Baal et d'Aliyan," RHR 101 (1935) 5-65. See GE, 31.

2. Ibid.

When the monarchy was established in the tenth and ninth centuries, change in the life of Israel was inevitable. The social concept behind it differed immensely from that of the ancient tribal organization. "It is no longer a question of a patriarchal authority based on mystic kinship and not imposing itself by force, but only by the traditional motives of respect and fidelity. . The power is monarchized."<sup>1</sup>

The Philistine threat had evoked a military response from the Israelites, but they could not successfully defend themselves without proper leadership. Thus Israel's monarchy was largely of military origin--war, attack, defense--and the first two kings, Saul and David, were military leaders.<sup>2</sup> In Causse's view however this is not the complete picture. The monarchy also had a mystical foundation, for in primitive conceptions the unity of the people centers upon the king and he is the director of the lives of men on earth.<sup>3</sup> Following Lévy-Bruhl, Causse sees as integral to the mystical foundation of the monarchy the magical conception of the leader who embodies the life of the group and in whom is concentrated all the energies of the social organism, as he assures peace and prosperity to the country.<sup>4</sup>

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1. GE, 33.

2. Of course, David surpassed Saul as a military leader in extension of his kingdom and in general exercise of authority.

3. Ibid. Causse takes his cue here from S. R. Frazer, Lectures on the Early History of Kingship, (London: Macmillan, 1905).

4. GE, 33, note 1. Cf. Lévy-Bruhl, op. cit., 67-72. PCB 162-164. Causse sees possible echoes of this idea in the formulas of blessing in Ps. 72 celebrating the advent of the new king: 72:1,3,7,16,17.



Saul was the primitive type king. He exemplified the mystical foundation of the monarchy. Although a king, he was still a patriarchal chief and his power like that of Gideon depended upon the strength and valor of his clan (I Sam. 10:20-25).<sup>1</sup>

When David became king the evolution of the monarchy continued. Establishing the capital at Jerusalem was destined to provide the religious and cultic basis of the monarchy. Although we know little detail of court phraseology and practice, some remnants of these appear apparent in the Royal Psalms.<sup>2</sup> There is little doubt that the religious basis of the monarchy had much to do with the development of the idea of the divine character conferred upon the king. He was the liaison between God and men. His reign was the channel of divine action. He governed, made judgments (Ps. 72:1)<sup>3</sup> and waged war in the name of Yahweh (Ps. 18:33-43; 20:6,7).<sup>4</sup> The king was assured of divine loyalty through the eternal covenant made with him by God (II Sam. 23:5).<sup>5</sup> He was like the bēnē yēlōhîm (II Sam. 14:17,20; Ps. 45:7).<sup>6</sup>

The monarchy was not established with ease and tranquility. Since the institution was largely of foreign origin, the rural population would not with haste accept its rule and domination.

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1. GE, 34.

2. PCB, 149-166.

3. GE, 34; PCB, 162f.

4. Ibid., PCB, 158.

5. GE, 34.

6. Ibid.



It was only gradually and with reticence that the authority of the monarchy took root in Israel.<sup>1</sup>

One must carefully note, however, that the united monarchy of David and Solomon's time was largely confined to Jerusalem and the immediately surrounding area. Thus the people of the hill country were much less affected by it, and among them patriarchal customs on the whole retained their primacy. While the royal organization was gradually making changes in the Israelite society, it in no sense completely replaced the old organization. Among the clans in the villages throughout Palestine the elders were not divested of their authority (II Kings 4:13).<sup>2</sup> They continued to direct the life of the clan and execute judgment. In them still remained the expression of legitimate social authority.

Causse emphasized that it was the monarchy which brought about the destruction of the solidarity of ancient Israel. "The power of the state is destructive to the family grouping, and in order to accomplish establishing itself powerfully, it must abolish the ancient solidarity, separate the individual from his traditional social environment and attach itself to him directly."<sup>3</sup> The abolition of ancient tradition, however, was no matter of small consequence. The king encountered difficulties. When David ordered the taking of a census, he

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1. Causse finds the conceptions of rule and domination of the monarch in Ps. 2:6-8; 110:1-3 in part of Canaanite and foreign origin and repulsive to the rural Israelite countrymen. GE, 35.

2. GE, 36.

3. Ibid.

invoked the anger of Yahweh and the people against him (II Sam. 24:1; I Chr. 21).<sup>1</sup> Numbering of men among primitives was the violation of a formidable taboo and was an infringement upon the rights of the clan. The men of the clans were unready to become passively organized under the yoke of the monarchy. Hence the cry went out--"To your tents, O Israel."<sup>2</sup>

## 2) Adaptation to Canaanite Civilization

Israel had entered a land which was the crossroads of Near Eastern culture. Trade routes from North, South, East, and by way of the Mediterranean Sea from the West, met in Palestine. Palestinian culture became well advanced under Egyptian domination, but the Egyptians had not established a Palestinian state capable of withstanding the onslaught of invaders. In spite of a somewhat provisory federation the Canaanites could not effectively resist the Hebrew nomads.

No doubt seeking in part to preserve moral unity, most of Israel settled in the hill country where the people would be more divorced from pagan influences. Of course, some settled in or near the Canaanite cities (Issachar, Gen. 49:14,15; cf. Judg. 5:6,11; 1:27,29,34,36; Gen. 49:11,12,14,22,25).<sup>3</sup> These cities remained fairly strong until after Barak's victory at Megiddo, which appears to have assured Israel's growth of power in central Palestine. This new thrust of power tended to reduce the strength of the Canaanite cities.

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1. GE, 37.

2. I Kgs. 12:16.

3. GE, 38.



Still Israel clung to her moral unity. Cities were destroyed.<sup>1</sup> Canaanite culture was shunned as detrimental to the solidarity of Israel.

One notes with interest, however, that the advent of Israelite culture marks the beginning of a period of decided cultural decadence. Israel was not a settled people who knew well the long established cultural techniques of the Canaanites, e.g. pottery, art, and construction.<sup>2</sup>

Regardless of her efforts at environmental isolation, Israel could not remain uninfluenced by the Canaanites. In a very real sense she was Canaanized.<sup>3</sup> While she had subjected Canaan to her authority and largely assimilated it, the traditions and customs of this alien land worked their way

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1. Causse believes these devastations are verified by Palestinian archeology following Albright and Vincent. While the excavations may not provide incontrovertible dates for the Hebrew take over of Palestine, they at least suggest that in the last half of the second millennium, ca. 1400-1200 B.C., many cities were sacked, especially Jericho and Bethel. GE, 39. The devastations of Jericho and Bethel now appear to have no bearing on the conquest at all. For discussion of the relation of archeological evidence to the conquest see Bright, op. cit., 118-120 and Noth, op. cit., 146-151.

2. This is observed in the Israelites' inferior rebuilding of some of the cities. (Qf. Bethel.)

3. Causse does not feel that the rapid development of Hebrew civilization from the period of the first kings can be explained by the profound action of Philistine cities on the Israelite clans, since David could have been responsible for much of this influence. He had lived and fought with the Philistines and many of his men were recruited from among them. The Philistine influence is only secondary. The Israelites, in contact with Canaanite cities, already had begun rapidly to build their new civilization.



into Israelite thought and practice. "It is this process of slow fusion and reciprocal penetration that the Deuteronomist redactor of the Book of Judges has described."<sup>1</sup> Judges 3:5-6:

"So the Israelites settled among the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivvites, and Jebusites; they married their daughters, and their own daughters they married to their sons, and they served their gods."

As many cities were resettled, such as Gezer, Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, and Jericho, they became focal points for Israel's social life. Commerce began to thrive. The existence of such professional groups as bakers (Jer. 37:21)<sup>2</sup> and goldsmiths<sup>3</sup> indicates a survival from the time in which certain professions were the monopoly of special clans.<sup>4</sup>

Conflicts of interest soon developed. "At this time the elements that directed the population in Israel were the men of the king, functionaries and men of war, and the rich proprietors, the gibbôrê havil, who left the care of their domain to their attendants and slaves."<sup>5</sup> The clans began to lose their importance, and independence diminished. The rural peasants flocked to the urban areas. Causse viewed this as the displacement of the center of gravity of the Israelite society which had drastic results--a class structure. It is

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1. GE, 40. Cf. PCB, 38-39.

2. GE, 41.

3. Neh. 3:8.

4. GE, 41. Cf. A. Bertholet, A History of Hebrew Civilization, trans. by A. K. Dallas, (New York: Brentano's, 1926) 194-222.

5. GE, 42.

true that in ancient Israel wealth was sometimes accumulated (I Sam. 9:1-3, 5-7; II Sam. 17:28; I Kings 19:19; II Kings 4:18-25),<sup>1</sup> especially as was permitted in the pastoral, patriarchal family structure. Yet, large estates in Israel came into being only with the establishment of the monarchy with its social and political ramifications. These circumstances created two opposing groups--the rich, the men of the latifundia, and the poor, the rural proletariat which had to bear the imposition of heavy duties and taxes. Hence the dallîm, the weak or poor, and the ebyônîm, the needy or poor, were not of their choosing deprived of their heritage (Am. 6:1, 4-6; Isa. 3:13-15).<sup>2</sup>

There is a basic domestic change at this time. Whereas the poor and rich lived and worked side by side in ancient Israel, now the men of the latifundia separated themselves from those whom they exploited.

With the advent and maintenance of the monarchy's military, one might almost say a system of feudalism was inaugurated. The tremendous and far reaching exploits (the use of cavalry Josh. 11:6-9; II Sam. 8:4. Cf. II Sam. 15:1; I Kings 1:5)<sup>3</sup> of the kings could not be carried out without huge exactions from the general populace. But the splendor of the monarchy was short-lived. At Solomon's death Palestine was rent with division, turmoil, and new wars with the Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, Egypt, and Damascus.

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1. GE, 43.

2. GE, 44.

3. GE, 45.



New invaders were on the way. More kings, of the divided monarchy, were destined to fall. The struggles of the people proved exacting and brutal. And since the ancient social order had been shattered,<sup>1</sup> these crises meant but one thing for Israel--destruction!

### 3) Relaxation of the Social Bond

Although the ancient solidarity had been crushed, it is interesting that many primitive institutions did not disappear completely. Yet, they were endangered and their foundations shaken. The political and cultic significance of the clan had by now all but disappeared. The new aristocracy hoped to replace the patriarchal zēqēnīm, assuming their authority without religious basis, forgetting ties with past ancestors or the land (Judg. 9:8-15; see also Isa. 3:1-7).<sup>2</sup>

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1. The organization of Israel and Judah under David was a step beyond the old order. R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, trans. by J. McHugh, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 95-96. (1) David was acclaimed ruler over all Israel. He was not a tribal ruler. (2) Under his reign a national capital was established at Jerusalem. It was both a religious and political capital, but it was of non-Israelite origin. It "undoubtedly served to elevate the government to a degree above tribal jealousy." Bright, op. cit., 179. (3) Some additional Canaanite city states (Jdgs. 1:27-35) and other non-Israelite populations (II Sam. 8:1-14) were taken over and brought into the consolidated state under David's rule. (4) The tribal confederacy was surpassed by the union of Israel and Judah in the person of David. Ibid., 183-184. (5) David set up a bureaucracy following Egyptian patterns. See R. de Vaux, "Titres et fonctionnaires égyptiens à la cour de David et de Solomon," RB 48 (1939) 394-405; Bright, loc. cit. On the organization of the kingdom under Solomon see de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 133-138. The organization of the land under central authority made possible organized taxation. The governors and collecting centers established by Jehoshaphat (II Chr. 17:2,12) may have existed in the time of David and Solomon, but there is no record of them. Ibid., 136.

2. GE, 48.



The authority of the law of the bayit was waning also. Men began to desire to break free from the ties of the family group, for they implied duty and responsibility. Society was becoming more mobile. Rural population was moving to the cities. There were wars, deportations. Family bonds were weakening. Israel began to become an uprooted people. The social structure of ancient Israel no longer existed and the individual was often divorced from his ancestry and the land of his fathers.<sup>1</sup>

Other laws also lost much of their strength--collective solidarity and vengeance of blood. In place of the vendetta was organized repression. In ancient Israel the father of the bayit or the elders of the mišpāhā made decisions of judgment relative to members of the group, following a principle of individual responsibility and taking into account the circumstances. The šop<sup>e</sup>tīm who judged the tribes (I Sam. 7:15-17)<sup>2</sup> and the priests of the sanctuaries were consulted before the rendering of judgment (Dt. 17:8).<sup>3</sup> But the monarchy prepared the way for the practice of organized repression.

The influence of Canaanite law may largely have caused a trend toward laws of compensation in place of the vendetta. Some restrictions on the implementation of it had already occurred in the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:12,13,18-21,28-32).<sup>4</sup>

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1. GE, 48-49.

2. GE, 49.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Causse suggests also the possible influence of the Hittite Code which is based largely on a system of compensation.<sup>1</sup> However, by inclusion of the lex talionis it placed itself resolutely on the terrain of personal sanctions.<sup>2</sup>

With the general condition of upheaval and detachment from ancient solidarity, there came the individualization of responsibility. Each person was to be responsible for his own actions (Deut. 24:16).<sup>3</sup> When Joash, king of Judah, was murdered, his son Amaziah put the assassins to death, but not their children (II Kings 14:6).<sup>4</sup> While Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20 reveal Yahweh as a God of collective sanctions, punishing children for their father's sins up to the third and fourth generations, II Kings 14:6 and Deuteronomy 24:16 are indications of an evolution to a more humane and equitable perspective. The Yahwist records an intercession in Sodom's behalf, "Will you also destroy the innocent with the guilty?" In the light of the trends here mentioned, Causse avers, "The individualist notion of the responsibility and sanction which appear here mark a progress toward a superior religion and a new social order. But on the other hand, this was a decadence of ancient solidarity."<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. GE, 50.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. GE, 51. Cf. note 2 on the individualist preoccupations in the literature of this period, both J and E.



The law of redemption, g<sup>e</sup>'üllâ, for maintenance of continuity of inheritance was not observed in the same manner, though the institution remained. In ancient Israel the g<sup>e</sup>'üllâ was a legal imperative for the next of kin. By the time of Deuteronomy the law of redemption was no longer observed in the same manner. The gō'êl was no longer under binding obligation<sup>1</sup> to exercise the law of redemption and the conditions of the law had changed.<sup>2</sup>

"On the whole, we are face to face with a crisis of the dissociation of ancient groups, a fundamental and decisive crisis. It is the same notion of the covenant that is affected. The b<sup>e</sup>rît, this mystic relationship, more powerful than all the physical bonds which can exist between men, the b<sup>e</sup>rît with all that it includes--fidelity to the sworn faith, respect for the contractual law, community of life between allies--has lost its primitive force."<sup>3</sup>

#### 4) Yahweh and Royal Religion

In a society where religion and the social group were so intimately woven together, it is no surprise that social crisis produced a religious crisis as well. In the ninth and eighth centuries there were growing indications that such was taking place.

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1. The author of Ruth reveals an innovation, h<sup>a</sup>lîsâ, the taking of the shoe, which demonstrates the decadence of the institution. Ibid.

2. In Deuteronomy g<sup>e</sup>'üllâ applies only to the case of two brothers living together in the same house, in the same village, Deut. 25:5-10. GE, 52.

3. GE, 52-53.



In an effort to centralize all power and authority the monarchy had declared Yahweh the national god. This did in part drain some of the solidifying power from the clans. No longer was Yahweh the God of the united tribes alone; he was Lord of the earth and master of the state (II Sam. 7:8-17; 23-26; I Kings 1:36; Ps. 18:29-50; 21).<sup>1</sup> Yahweh was the melek par excellence, who was enthroned in splendor on a day of festivity (Ps. 24:7-10; 46; 48).<sup>2</sup> "In fact, this Yahweh is now a new god, in as much as his strongly Canaanized cult differs from ancient rite."<sup>3</sup>

The monarchy with its efforts of centralization had brought rural population to urban centers, deemphasized the importance of local villages and sanctuaries, and thus isolated the cult from its ancient domestic attachments. Hence the previously close ties of religion and the family were torn asunder. The father no longer fulfilled his priestly role in the family. Well organized cultic personnel were now the legitimate practitioners of religious rites and ceremonies. While in Exodus 20:24 the father continues to offer sacrifice, by the time Deut. 12:13 he no longer retains this function. However, primitive institutions are not always obliterated or assimilated with ease. They continue to leave their imprint on society in some form, though changed; and their remnants are frequently

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1. Ibid.

2. POB, 88-91. S. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II, "Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie", (Oslo: Kristiana, 1922) 89-188. GE, 54.

3. Ibid.

found in later periods. For example, it is still by families that the villagers climb to the bāmā (I Sam. 1:3-8; on the close family character of the Passover see Ex. 12:7-10, 43-49).<sup>1</sup> Yet, on the whole, domestic cohesion has begun to lag.

In addition to the religious crisis in Israel taking place from within, foreign elements entered the picture. The expansion of commerce and political relationships led Israel into encounter with many nations, and hence their religions. Throughout the land Yahweh was worshiped side by side with Phoenician Baalim and the gods of Aram and Nineveh. In the Assyrian period this syncretism reached new heights. What was the condition of the people of Israel amidst all this turmoil? They were confused. The social, political, economic, and religious equilibrium was far out of balance. They were divorced, for the most part, from ancient customs and traditions, both social and religious. The primitive social milieu had been replaced by a centralized authority, a specialized clergy, and syncretistic rites. The dilemma of the Israelite is eloquently described in the question of Micah: "With what shall I come before the Lord?" (6:6)

Those who gave Israel new hope, the dream of overcoming the drastic state of the decadence of ancient solidarities were the

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1. Ibid.

2. Causse discusses briefly the pre-monarchial development of the cult but is primarily concerned with the fact that it is largely in the monarchial period that the great official sanctuaries, temples or "houses of God," are constructed at Jerusalem, Bethel, and Samaria. Of course, these drastic efforts at transformation were not made without resistance. Cf. Ex. 20:21-23; II Sam. 7:1-11. GE, 54-55, note 4.

prophets. They came announcing the law of a new society and a new covenant.



## PART TWO: THE PROPHETS AND THE CRISIS OF THE SOCIAL GROUP

## A. THE PROPHETS AND THE CRISIS: RETURN TO THE PAST

Causse commends the scholarly efforts of the last century in bringing to light the great ethical values of prophetism and placing it at the heart of the religious evolution of Israel. However, he is not content to see the prophets as reformers and proclaimers of a new order. The psychological and sociological conditions in which they developed their message must be diligently scrutinized. It is to this end that Causse directs his study.<sup>1</sup>

The prophets reacted negatively to the monarchy. It had risen at the expense of ancient solidarity and the prophets wanted to recover the past--family and tribal law. Saul invoked the opposition of Samuel when he spared Agag, thus violating the law of the herem (I Sam. 15:8-16, 32, 33. Cf. Nathan and David II Sam. 11:2-27; 12:15).<sup>2</sup>

Late in the ninth century prophetic parties began to crystallize and become more adamant in their opposition to the monarchy. The Elijah and Elisha accounts probably exaggerate the idea of the Omrides as adversaries of Yahweh, since they did remain officially attached to the national cult.<sup>3</sup> However, the kings of Samaria lacked the deep religious sense of David. The Omrides had left Samaria open to all sorts of

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1. A. Causse, "Quelques remarques sur la psychologie des prophètes," RHPR 2(1922) 349-356.

2. GE, 62.

3. In Yahweh's name they fought against Aram and Moab.

religious importations, for example Tyrian Baalism, and religious revolution could not be abated.

A number of incidents provoked a general revolt among the prophets. Ahab violated the law of the herem by sparing Ben Hadad at Aphek (I Kings 20:35-43),<sup>1</sup> although this was not necessarily a bad political move, since Ahab wanted a buffer state between Samaria and Assyria. The violation of the law of continuity of inheritance in the murder of Naboth and the confiscation of his land struck another blow at ancient tradition and solidarity, and evoked the wrath of Elijah upon the Omrides.

"The prophetic movement expanded extensively through the favour of the social crises and the misfortunes of the Syrian wars."<sup>2</sup> The n<sup>e</sup>bi'im established themselves around certain sanctuaries, e.g. Bethel, Gilgal, and Carmel, near the Jordan, and in the hill country (II Kings 2:3,5,25).<sup>3</sup> These ghetto-like communities of prophets were generally respected by the populace and their members regarded as men of God. One must remember, however, that even in a king's entourage the n<sup>e</sup>bi'im were sometimes found (e.g. Micaiah ben Imlah, I Kings 22:7-28).<sup>4</sup>

The opposition movement included such groups as the Levites and Rechabites who fought vigorously against the influ-

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1. GE, 65.

2. GE, 66.

3. Ibid.

4. GE, 67.



ence of Canaanite culture. They too wanted to return to the past. The Levites represented the more ancient Yahwist tradition--the Qadesh tradition.<sup>1</sup> Having come into Canaan later than the other tribes,<sup>2</sup> they were poor and dispersed and without heritage in Israel. The Rechabites clung to nomadic tradition. They seem to have come from the clans of the Kenites (I Chr. 2:55)<sup>3</sup> and were radically opposed to the vineyard, wine, the house, and the cultivated field--all Canaanite impositions (Jer. 35:6,7).<sup>4</sup>

The nomadic ideal receives early emphasis from the prophet Elijah. He is the great nomadic prophet. In order to recover the god of his ancestors he journeys to Mount Horeb.<sup>5</sup> The Elisha account does not have the same religious tenor as that of Elijah, but it is important for the atmosphere of life and primitive culture at the time.<sup>6</sup>

A similar attraction for the nomadic ideal is shared by the J historian whose narrative has its setting in the mountains of Palestine as he recounts the myths and legends relative to the origin of the world and the history of the tribes

1. They collaborated in the sanctuary with Moses at Qadesh. Deut. 33:8-10; of. Ex. 32:25-29; Ibid.

2. Of. Gen. 49:5-7; 34. Their sacramental functions appear to be set by the time of the last redaction of the blessing of Moses: oracle, teaching of the tôrôt, and sacrifice. Dt. 33:8-10; GE, 68.

3. GE, 69.

4. Ibid.

5. PI, 35-44.

6. On Elisha's relationship to the Omrides: Joram, Jehoshaphat, see II Kings 3:9-11; 6; GE, 71.



of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Causse, following Ed. Meyer,<sup>2</sup> sees in the J tradition indications of a great religious historian who not only collected ancient traditions and placed them side by side, but who left on this material the imprint of his own world view and conception of religion.<sup>3</sup> "In the manner in which he organized and interpreted this traditional treasury is manifest the eternal aspiration of the people, the patriarchal dream, the protest against culture."<sup>4</sup> He presents in general a picture of pastoral life. The primary vocation is that of a shepherd and tilling the soil is considered no great blessing (Gen. 46:34; 47:3).<sup>5</sup> The narrative is absorbed with such pastoral scenes as those of family life, betrothals, marriages, disputes and reconciliations between kinsmen, and hospitality (Gen. 18:1-8; 24; 29:1-19; 31; 33:1-11; Ex. 1:15-22).<sup>6</sup> Causse does not go so far as to put the Yahwist in the camp of the Rechabites. "The Rechabites could have occasionally been the allies of the prophets in the protest against

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1. While Causse dated J in the ninth century following Wellhausen, some scholars contend that its roots appear to be in the Davidic-Solomonic period (tenth century). Cf. Bright, op. cit., 61, 65; Eissfeldt, op. cit., 200; H. Schmökel, "Zur Datierung der Pentateuchquelle J," ZAW 62(1950) 319-321; Weiser, op. cit., 102.

2. Ed. Meyer, "Die Persönlichkeit des Yahwisten," Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, (Halle: Niemeyer, 1906) 105-173.

3. GE, 72.

4. Ibid.

5. GE, 73; see also Gen. 4:2-7.

6. GE, 74.

royal civilization and syncretistic Baalism. That is not to say they had been an effective influence on the formation of the prophetic ideal nor that their Yahwism had been particularly pure and original. There were in the religion of Elijah and Amos many other things than in the practice of the sons of Rechab."<sup>1</sup>

Despite the affection for the nomadic ideal one must note that in the work of the Yahwist there are, even in the time of the patriarchs, agricultural attachments.<sup>2</sup>

It is not some blithe romanticism of the desert which alone captivated the social aspirations of the prophets during the ninth century. Rather the center of this surging hope was the conservatism of the rural Israelite population, who desired the maintenance of primitive culture and patriarchal organization.<sup>3</sup> Thus there is no unilinear uniformity to the ideal representations of the past in the documents. However, the dynamic zeal for the past tended to unify different ideals--the love of liberty, the simplicity of the patriarchs, and the respect for law and institutions which their ancestors established.<sup>4</sup>

The struggle for preservation of the past resulted in many courses of action among the rural people. Jehu's rebellion was much more than a military revolt (II Kings 9-10).<sup>5</sup> It

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1. Ibid., note 2.

2. Noah planting the vine Gen. 5:29; 9:20; members of the clan of Abraham represented as agriculturists, e.g. Isaac in Gen. 26:12,13. Cf. Gen. 24:31,32; 27:27,28; PCB, 28-31.

3. GE, 75.

4. GE, 75-76 note 2.

5. GE, 77.



grew out of a larger sense of opposition among the populace to the Omride regime and aristocratic classes in the towns. This was a revolt of annihilation--away with the kings (Ahab's family)--away with the aristocracy--away with worshipers of Baal.

In the religious and social domain the reaction was less violent and more significant. In this milieu Mosaic tradition became fixed. These first legislations of Israel, as in the Covenant Code, are indeed of diverse origins: small cult tôrâ Ex. 20:23-26; mišpātîm of ancient character Ex. 21:1-22:17; and some following the Deuteronomic form Ex. 22:18-23:19. It may not be possible to ascertain the definite origin of each provision of the Code, but one can observe that "the manner in which they have been grouped and interpreted attests the conservative spirit of the redactors and their protest against the callousness and iniquity of the new civilization."<sup>1</sup> It is true that there are traces of Canaanite, Babylonian, and Hittite influence, "but these elements had been adapted to the conditions of a yet primitive culture and a majority of the laws suggest a social organization of great simplicity."<sup>2</sup>

The Mosaic tradition reflects a social milieu of vital importance. Life is portrayed as that of desert nomads tending their herds and fields (Ex. 22:1,5,10-13),<sup>3</sup> amidst

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1. GE, 78 note 1.

2. GE, 79.

3. Ibid.



a sedentary economy of agriculture, settled villages (Ex. 20:10),<sup>1</sup> and labor (Ex. 22:14).<sup>2</sup> Family ownership of land has replaced the collective ownership of the clan, and only the law of the seventh year remains as a memory of primitive practice.

As regards political authority it still resides with the elders of the clans in the light of these early legislations.<sup>3</sup> Although Ex. 22:28 says, "you must not revile God, nor curse a ruler of your people," the reference is not to a prince or king. Here 'am designates the clan and nāśī<sup>4</sup> the head of the clan.<sup>4</sup> The monarchy is regarded as an imported, pagan institution whose authority is suspect, but the authority of the elders has a long established tradition, reaching as far back as the desert period. In fact it is a Mosaic institution which grew out of the tradition of the Mosaic appointment of certain competent men to be the leaders of Israel.<sup>5</sup> Some were to direct the life of the clans, others (judges) were to execute judgments regarding the life of the people in general at all times. That which is of primary importance for the future is that these leaders exercise judgment in a spirit of mutual social assistance and for the protection of the weak

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. The rights of the father were also strongly maintained especially ownership. Cf. the mišpāṭim of Ex. 21-22:17; GE, 80.

4. Cf. Ex. 35:27; Lev. 4:22; Num. 10:4; 17:3; Jos. 9:18; GE, 79 note 3.

5. Ex. 18:13-26; Num. 11:11-17; 24-30. Causse claims the Exodus account, in which Moses acts upon the advice of Jethro, is the oldest. GE, 80-81 note 3.

and the poor.<sup>1</sup> Foreshadowings of the prophetic and Deuteronomic spirit are indicative of the latter part of the Book of the Covenant (especially Ex. 23:2,6,7).<sup>2</sup>

The author of the Book of the Covenant displays a conservative and anti-cultic tendency. Images, idols, altars, the cultic paraphernalia of the urban sanctuaries are taboo. His concern is only with natural altars--those of earth and unhewn stone (Ex. 20:24-36).<sup>3</sup> It is this anti-cult sentiment which reaches its zenith just before the exile and results in the expunging of all images.

The Yahwist Code of Ex. 34:17-26 is from the same period and has its own anti-cultic overtones.<sup>4</sup> While it acknowledges the cult of bāmôt in which a local clergy no doubt functioned especially in celebrating the three great rural feasts (massôt, the feast of weeks, and the gathering of fruits) the priestly obligations of the father to the family are underscored.

"Thus the conservative and revolutionary tendencies at the time of the old Israelite party in the ninth century were: to reestablish Israel as it was previously with its mišpāhôt, elders, judges, cult purified from syncretistic practice, and to maintain among the members of the social group the ties of the ancient b<sup>e</sup>rit."<sup>5</sup>

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1. GE, 81.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Outlaws metal idols as Canaanite inventions, GE, 82.

5. GE, 82-83.



Conditions degenerated rapidly under Jehu, Joahaz, Joash, and Jeroboam II. Political, economic, and social turmoil had to bow before the Assyrian army and the deportation of the people was destined to prepare the way for a new Jewish community. On the eve of devastation during the final part of the reign of Jeroboam II there arose a prophet from Tekoa, Amos. Keenly aware of the economic declension and the social instability, oppression, and injustice he proclaimed the temporary nature of Israel's confidence<sup>1</sup> in false cults. Amos probably had grown up among a more primitive population at Tekoa<sup>2</sup> where the effects of the royal organization and urban cults, as at Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba, were less influential (Am. 5:4-6).<sup>3</sup> He desired to return to the more primitive traditions of the desert where complicated rites and sumptuous rites of devotion (Am. 5:25)<sup>4</sup> did not exist.<sup>5</sup> Yahweh's verdict on this unjust society was destruction.

A contemporary, Hosea, also desired to return to the past. For him, "the golden age is the nomadic life, the first beginnings of the people in the desert."<sup>6</sup> In that primitive setting Yahweh had chosen (Hos. 9:10; 11:1; 13:5)<sup>7</sup> his people, led them through famine and war, and delivered Canaan into their hands. But now the nation was guilty of forgetting its

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1. False pride will be destroyed. Am. 3:15; 5:11; 6:7,8.

2. Like the semi-pastorals of the midbār.

3. GE, 85.

4. Ibid.

5. Cf. his speech of denunciation at Bethel, 6:4-6; 8:4-6; ibid.

6. GE, 86.

7. Ibid.



God, having settled in its new home. Hosea, oscillating between a message of hope and doom, proclaimed the destruction of false cults (bāmōt and altars), and the dispersion of Israel--she will be forced once more to her tents. But this chastisement is primarily didactic (Hos. 2:16,17; 12:10),<sup>1</sup> since Israel will return to its God. It is interesting that Hosea does not condemn sedentary culture as such. He averred that Yahweh gave the grain and not Baal, and that the return to the desert was not permanent. It was to be a time of testing after which Yahweh will give his people back its fields and vineyards (Hos. 2:23,24).<sup>2</sup> Thus the romanticism of the desert in Hosea may not be viewed so much as an ideale nomade as an ideal paysan.<sup>3</sup>

Isaiah is a prophet whose background was quite different from that of Amos and Hosea. This is all the more interesting, since many of the same themes arise in his prophecy. He was not from the rural population, nor was he of a nomadic family. A citizen of Jerusalem, he was well acquainted with urban society and the language of the royal court. Isaiah circulated freely among the nēbī'im of the temple. While describing eloquently the degenerate society of Jerusalem, he did not diminish his loyalty to the monarchy (Isa. 1:23-26; cf. Mic. 3:9-11). His cry against the social ills of the day must be seen, however, within a larger context. Judah had grown from a simple nomadic culture to an urbanized society of elegance and splendor, and the human structures of society could not

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1. GE, 87.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., note 4.

stand before the presence of Yahweh. "It is not here, however, solely a question of protest against social evils in the name of the ignored ancient order. Above all, the prophet proclaims that all work established by man, by the power and pride of man, will not survive before Yahweh."<sup>1</sup> He will humble mankind and bring low those whose land is filled with silver and gold, treasures, horses and chariots, idols (Isa. 2:7-9), and the haughty daughters of Zion who deck themselves with jewelry and display themselves in public (Isa. 3:16-24). Yahweh will trample the drunkards of Ephraim under foot (Isa. 28:1,3) and cast into Sheol the boisterous and joyous crowd of Zion (Isa. 5:14-15). The proud society of the Israelites will fall, and thorn and bramble will cover the palace which will be in ruins (Isa. 5:17; 6:11,12).

Isaiah declared that all human grandeur is profane and that dependence on it is a sin against God. Causse finds this notion to be a habitual conception of primitive mystique.<sup>2</sup> He illustrates the futility of human grandeur by pointing to the ancient Israelite belief in victory in battle assured by obedience to certain mystical and cultic factors, for example, purification of the warriors and the camp (Dt. 23:9-14; cf. I Sam. 14:24), consultation of the oracle of Yahweh (I Sam. 30:8,9; II Sam. 5:22,23), sacrifice of the king before battle (Ps. 20:4,5), and gestures and words of the prophets in order to curse the enemy (I Kings 22:11,12; II Kings 13:14-19; Ps.

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1. GE, 89.

2. GE, 90.



60:8-14).<sup>1</sup> To be sure, kings built up their armies, fortified their cities, and prepared their arms, but the prophets came saying that man's military buildup and defense were useless. That which is of foremost importance is to remain faithful to Yahweh. He alone is Israel's means of salvation.<sup>2</sup>

"This ardent faith of the prophets is developed as always in a framework of 'pre-logical mentality,' and it is an obvious misconception to apply here our categories and judgments of modern man."<sup>3</sup> Isaiah, in fact, recommended a political policy at the time which was more prudent and better informed than that of Judah's rulers. He laid the overwhelming strength of Assyria before the people and acknowledged that a small people could only submit to vassalship.

Causse disagrees with those who insist on the "utopic

1. GE, 91. See L. Lévy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality, trans. by L. A. Claire, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1923) 324-351; Causse, "Bénédiction et Malédiction dans l'Ancien Testament," RA 36 (1926) 158-164; PCB, 9-14, 128-133.

2. The emphasis on complete trust in Yahweh's control of political matters is called "theopolitics" by M. Buber. The Prophetic Faith, (New York: Harper & Row, 1949) 126f. At the core of Isaiah's theopolitical teaching was the verb šāqat (rest, confide), see 7:4; 18:4; 30:15; 32:17. To Ahaz, Isaiah conveyed the only reliable political program--rest in Yahweh (7:4). This was not a passive resting, but a peace rooted in one's confidence in Yahweh's rule of the dominions of the earth. The verb ʾāman (believe, trust, confide) is also important to Isaiah's theopolitics. He warns Ahaz, "If you will not confide (believe), you will not abide." (7:9) Cf. II Chr. 20:20. Yahweh will become a sanctuary for those who believe in him. Ibid., 137; N. K. Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth, (New York: Harper & Row, 1964) 156. See also the verb hākāh (wait for, hope) in Isa. 8:16. Even though Yahweh hides his face from the house of Jacob, he will show it again to those who wait and hope for him. Buber, loc. cit., 147.

3. GE, 92.



tendency" of the politics of the prophets, and especially Isaiah.<sup>1</sup> "Their ideal was above the conditions and narrow limits of present reality, and their means for realizing their ideal were of another order than the order of the flesh. In fact, it is not a question here of a reasonable policy or of a political utopia. The great preoccupation of the prophets was the affirmation of mystical values. As Elisha, who glimpsed invisible legions in heaven and chariots and horses of fire at the time of the Syrian wars [II Kgs. 6:8-17],<sup>2</sup> prepared to deliver Israel, so the prophets awaited the salvation of a miracle of Yahweh. The help of Yahweh alone is efficacious to deliver his people; the help of men is only vanity."<sup>3</sup>

#### B. THE PROPHETS AND THE CRISIS: THE NEW VALUES

The prophets in their desire to return to the past and recover ancient tradition only succeeded in driving the wedge deeper into the ancient solidarity of Israel. They were conservative in many ways, but their efforts led to a profound transformation of the mentality and primitive social concept of ancient Israel. The prophets who sought new links with the past had actually produced a rupture with it and a reversal of ancient values.<sup>4</sup>

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1. M. Weber, Sociology of Religion, trans. by E. Fischhoff, (Boston: Beacon, 1963) 32; Ancient Judaism.

2. GE, loc. cit.

3. Ibid.

4. GE, 95.

It was in fighting against the pagan cultural influences of their new homeland that they hoped to return to their ancient solidarity of family, clan, and tribe. But they became engrossed with cult reforms, and in their opposition to domestic cults they precipitated the crisis of domestic religion. One of the cornerstones of the bayit was the cult of the dead, and the prophet came saying, "Yahweh is a god of the living, not a god of the dead." This affirmation strikes at the heart of the importance of reverence for the dead and the placing of tombs near the house of the deceased in the primitive social structure.<sup>1</sup> If the prophets should attack an institution which expressed the continuity of the elementary social group and the communion of successive generations, can one not expect a severe blow to the foundation of the bayit?

Other activity of the prophets undercut the ancient solidarity as well. In endorsing the destruction of the bāmôt the prophets dealt a blow to family unity. To these holy places throughout the countryside fathers for generations had led their families to worship. These rural bāmôt were among the elementary forms of the life of the people and clans of Israel. Communities were united as they, three times a year, celebrated the seasonal feasts.<sup>2</sup> In the traditional rites,

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1. Cf. A. Lods, La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite II, (Paris: Fischbacher, 1906) 89-124.

2. Cf. on the influence of religious feast among primitives as a means of realizing the solidarity of the group E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. by J. W. Swain, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957) 326-350; L. Levy-Bruhl, Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, (Paris: Alcan, 1931) 133-138; GR, 99.



dances, songs, and sacrifices, "the collective life is exalted, and the unity of the families of the country becomes visible in everyone's eyes."<sup>1</sup> This the prophets would allow to be obliterated by the destruction of the bāmôt. The centralization of the cult seemed to present no other alternative.

The prophetic affirmation of the absolutivity of Yahweh as the national god<sup>2</sup> brought innovations to the solidarity between Yahweh and the group. However, the prophets moved beyond the mystico-magical concept of the covenant<sup>3</sup> founded and renewed through communal rites to the idea of a covenant established on an ethical basis--on justice, sedeq, s<sup>e</sup>dāqâ. This had far-reaching consequence. Israel must now accomplish the justice of Yahweh, since he is just.<sup>4</sup> This dynamic affirmation produced penetrating results. The moral fidelity of Yahweh's people now took precedence over the notion that Yahweh owes protection to his people because of a natural bond which unites them. By fostering injustice Israel battles against the will of Yahweh, breaks the covenant, and invokes the judgment of annihilation (Am. 3:2; 9:7,8).<sup>5</sup> "In thus announcing that Yahweh will annihilate the people of whom he has been leader and principle of life, the prophet [Amos]

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1. Ibid.

2. Dt. 6:4, "Yahweh is our god, Yahweh alone," GE, 100.

3. Cf. GE, 23-4, 27-8 on the role of the b<sup>e</sup>rît in primitive social concepts.

4. The idea that Yahweh ordained that which is just is not new with the prophets. The divine origin of justice is found in Babylon with Hammurabi, as well as in Egypt, GE, 102.

5. GE, 101.



undermined the foundations of ethnic religion, and threatened that which every Israelite of his time must have held sacred."<sup>1</sup>

What makes the emphasis on the divine origin of justice among the prophets different from similar emphases of other religions of the Orient? It is essentially the subjectivism with which they discriminate between that which is to be rejected and retained of rites and customs, and the manner in which they interpret the same.

The efficacious nature of cultic feasts and sacrificial rites was now challenged by the prophets. Amos declared to the pilgrims at Bethel, "I hate your feasts!"<sup>2</sup> Even though the prophets may not have desired the complete obliteration of all sacrifice, their criticism of this ancient institution undermined its cultic foundation and dealt a damaging blow to the mystic foundation of ancient society.<sup>3</sup> The cult was the bulwark of the society and sacrifice the bulwark of the cult. Without the latter, by what means could a relationship between God and man be established?

The prophetic influence forced a moralizing and rationalizing of the cult and made possible an individualization of Israelite religion and of the social organization. This is not to imply that all collective aspects of religion and society were made expendable for the benefit of individualization. Such was not the case. There remained a tension be-

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1. GE, 102.

2. Cf. Am. 5:21-24, and opposition to the cult in Hos. 4:17; 6:6; 8:13; Isa. 1:11-20; GE, 104-105.

3. Ibid.

tween the collective and the individual. Although the prophets were guiding the people to a more ethical and personal religion, they continued to speak within a collective framework which was a traditional form. This was largely because much of their prophecy was political prophecy. However, one cannot by-pass the individual form of prophetic expression which reveals the innermost depths of the soul, as in the confessions of Jeremiah.<sup>1</sup> "It is in the crises of Jeremiah's soul that the new piety finds its full expression. . . . With him the divorce of the prophetic ideal and nationalism is consummated" (Cf. Jer. 12:3; 17:14-15; 31:29-30; 39:15-18; 45:2-5).<sup>2</sup> For Causse this is the decisive moment in religious evolution--the introduction of the personal element into the God-man relationship. Henceforth, the institutions of the collective life will have only secondary importance (Cf. Jer. 4:3-4; 18:11; 25:5; 35:15; 31:31-34).<sup>3</sup>

With the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries there is a transition from primitive collectivism to moral individualism. In spite of the primitive mentality<sup>4</sup> and mystique which are still implied in the prophecy of this period, the prophets boldly undermined the religious traditions and social institutions by their personal and ethical emphases.

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1. Jer. 10:23-24; 11:18-12:6; 15:10-21; 17:9-10, 14-18; 18:18-23; 20:7-12, 14-18.

2. GE, 109.

3. GE, 110.

4. Causse following Durkheim finds this primitive mentality habitual among men of this time and the conceptions which it implied universally admitted in antiquity. Cf. GE, 112 note.



## C. THE DEUTERONOMIC REFORM

In order to implement the prophetic teaching it was necessary to provide a means of delineating some standards of judgment for that which must be included and excluded of the traditional rites and customs of the people. This means was the Deuteronomic Reform. Its essential purpose was "to establish for the new society a rule expressing in statutes, laws, and ordinances the ideal which the men of Yahweh had proclaimed."<sup>1</sup> It was this objective which was the goal of the prophets of the school of Isaiah beginning in the seventh century.

Causse acknowledges with appreciation the results of the Historical School in the study of Deuteronomy--namely, that Deuteronomy is the result of the reformist preaching of the seventh century. Of course, this position is not without numerous opponents.<sup>2</sup> But the questions of the historical School are not of primary importance to Causse. By a study of the social history of Deuteronomy he does, however, shed some light on them.

The social and political climate of Deuteronomy reflects that of Judah about the end of the seventh century. Judah is now well established in Palestine, but has not yet become the scattered nation of the diaspora. Deuteronomy indicates a political structure including a king, military, and implementers of civil law. It does not, however, spell out the

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1. GE, 114-115.

2. Hölscher and Kennett claim that Deuteronomy is a post-exilic production--a utopia without practical character, the law of a completely denationalized society; see GE, 116.

sophisticated cult of the post-exilic period with its highly organized clergy and its lavish and intricate ritual, e.g. the Priestly Code. Except for the question of centralization and the anti-idolatry struggle, Causse finds the pre-occupations of the Deuteronomist oriented more toward the social side than the cultic side.<sup>1</sup>

The social decadence in this period was widespread. The fall of Samaria, Assyrian domination, slavery, exploitation of the poor, the reigns of Manasseh and Amon dominated by Assyrian aristocracy, hostility to the prophets, decadence of Nineveh, syncretism--all these provoked a social revolution among the people led by the prophets (II Kings 21:23-24).<sup>2</sup> This was the social milieu in which the Deuteronomic Reform was born.<sup>3</sup>

The book of law appeared under the endorsement of Mosaic tradition. The author rooted the authority of his work in a

1. GE, 118 note 1.

2. GE, 119.

3. Causse cannot see the reform beginning only in the eighteenth year of Josiah with the discovery of the book of law in the temple. He suggests four stages of development:

- a) the revolution which followed the murder of Amon--the people of the country revolt against the Assyrian aristocracy;
- b) the anti-idolatry measures provoked by the prophets during the infancy of Josiah, e.g. expulsion of Assyrian idolatries of the Jerusalem temple;
- c) the victorious campaign in the region of Ephraim and Manasseh--the sanctuaries of the ancient kingdom of the north were overthrown;
- d) the eighteenth year of Josiah, discovery of the book of law, the introduction of the cult and celebration of a solemn Passover at Jerusalem. GE, 120, note 1.



claim of restoring primitive commandments which Yahweh had entrusted to Moses. Moses in turn shared them with the people of Israel. For the Deuteronomist it is the Mosaic ideal which will establish the perfect society.<sup>1</sup> To be sure one finds other elements: laws of Canaanite origin, institutions spawned by the monarchy, influence of prophetic preaching in the concept of the inspired word, but everything was placed under Mosaic authority. What has been authoritative in the past now became implicit in the Deuteronomic Reform. However, the author no longer looked with romanticism to the days of Israel in the wilderness. "The life of Israel in the desert no longer appears as a golden age, the time of perfect purity and eternal love, but rather a time of testing and suffering marked by the infidelity of Israel and the chastisements of Yahweh" (cf. Deut. 8:15-16 and especially Deut. 1:26-40; 8:7-9; 29:4-6).<sup>2</sup>

Deuteronomy reflects a sedentary life. Israel is in Palestine. It is in this new land that Israel's future lies, not in the desert. Yahweh and the land have been closely bound together in Deuteronomy. There is indeed indication of the rural agrarian ideal in Deuteronomy 11:12-15, but there is also an urban ideal expressed in Deuteronomy 6:11. Furthermore, the assimilation of foreign institutions into Israelite tradition and custom has now become so complete that Deuteronomy was no longer concerned with questions of their origin. Com-

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1. GE, 121.

2. Ibid.

merce was no longer a pagan enterprise, e.g. Dt. 14:23-25. Causse takes Dt. 28:12-13 and 15:6 to be interpolations of a period in which Israel was already a commercial diaspora, although economic horizons of Israel were becoming enlarged in the seventh century.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the conservative tendencies of Deuteronomy and its attachment to the past, one must not be led to think that the author was not a man of a new day. He expounded the Mosaic ideal for the ideal society. One can not avert the influence of the rationalizing tendencies of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries. What of ancient tradition and custom? Must it be rational? Indeed, not! It bears the authority of the ancestors from generation to generation. It came from the gods. This ancient mystic authority is to be accepted and obeyed faithfully without adding to or taking from the ancient boundaries of tradition.<sup>2</sup> Thus ancient society made its self-defense, but a new day dawned. The status quo of primitive society was ended. Men were restless. They no longer desired conformity without reason, or conformity for the sake of conformity. The authority of a custom, law, or an institution could no longer reside merely in the claim

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1. GE, 123 note 5.

2. Such conservatism is characteristic of primitive mentality. The individual submits and adapts to the goals of the group of which he is a part. Such conformity out of duty prevents individual innovation as well as foreign influence. It also preserves the traditions of the group without deviation. "The supreme rule is to do that which the ancestors have done and do ONLY that which they have done." GE, 124 note 1. Cf. Levy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality, 35-449.



of ancestral origin. "The age of discussion has begun."<sup>1</sup>

How does the Deuteronomist carry out this break-through beyond the old social order? He restates ancient law, rites, and institutions; he explains and where rational motifs can be offered he discloses them; he interprets and transforms these elements molding them into the pattern of the ideal society. In fact, Causse finds here a new concept of the law and of social institutions, and shows how this results in a rationalization<sup>2</sup> of the idea of the covenant.<sup>3</sup>

The ancient ideas of the covenant are indicated in Deuteronomy, but the magical elements of sacrifice, eating, and drinking are no longer of primary importance. Communal magic and the traditional mythological background are passé. "The covenant between Yahweh and his people no longer rests on the mystical contract, nor even on the simple proclamation of the inspired word, but on the consideration of moral order. It is no longer imposed from without, it rests on exhortations and

1. GE, 124.

2. Causse does not use rationalization in a psychological sense, that is the assigning of plausible explanations to mental attitudes and actions, the real motive of which would not avow them. He employs rationalization in referring to the progressive development of thought, institutions, and law of Israel toward the most appropriate goals of the group. In Israel the progress moved largely toward the goal of justice. Causse's use of rationalization is quite similar to Max Weber's concept of the process of rationalization. See especially Weber's The Methodology of the Social Sciences, trans. by E. A. Shils and H. A. Finch, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1964), 31-36; The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons, (New York: Oxford University, 1947) 17, 123; T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937) chapter 17.

3. GE, 126-131.

demonstrations."<sup>1</sup> The parenetic nature of Deuteronomy is probably its most forceful characteristic.<sup>2</sup> But the goal of Deuteronomy does not end with parenesis. When the sacred word has been proclaimed and the ancient laws fixed in a stereotyped formula, teaching is also an indispensable responsibility.

At the heart of this pedagogy is a concept of history which is centered in the activity of Yahweh. He is the Lord and master of history. The Deuteronomist reiterates the divine activity such as the exodus, conquest, establishment of the twelve tribes, and monarchy. Although Yahweh has acted and continues to do so in Israel's behalf, she must be faithful to the covenant by being obedient to the demands of the tôrâ, or else she will become apostate and be cast into Yahweh's disfavor. This framework of historical mythology<sup>3</sup> the

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1. GE, 130.

2. See G. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, trans. by D. Stalker, (London: SCM, 1961) 12-24.

3. Mowinckel has found this mythology rooted in the ritual of the feast of the enthronement of Yahweh in which the epiphany of god was described in a special drama with a solemn renewal of the covenant. Psalmstudien II, 45-80. Causse does not find much of Mowinckel's argument convincing, but he does note the necessity of retaining the following:

- a) The acclamation of Yahweh as melek, king of his people and conqueror of the goyim, was one of the essential themes of the cult. Many of the Psalms of praise include this theme. POB, 94-106.
- b) In addition to the songs, there were in the liturgies of the feast some recitations and representations of mythical and historical conditions, concerning the origin of the sanctuary, the significance of the feast and the great events of the history of the people and religion. In Ex. 12:26-27; 13:8; Dt. 4:9; 6:6-7; Josh. 4:6-7; Ps. 78:1-14 there are some allusions to this liturgical information. Cf. Dt. 26:5-10. GE, 132-133.



Deuteronomist inherited from the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries.<sup>1</sup> While Mowinckel has sought to delineate the origins and early attachments of the framework of this ancient historical mythology, which Causse only partially accepts, his most important contribution (from Causse's viewpoint) was to define its ethical and social consequences. Namely, "History is a testimony and a lesson."<sup>2</sup> The Deuteronomist like the prophets before him saw Yahweh at work in history, even in its most destitute tragedies.

The movement beyond primitive mentality is reflected also in the Deuteronomic concept of blessing and curse.<sup>3</sup> In ancient Israel, as among primitive Semites, the proclamation of the covenant was accompanied by imprecatory formulas. When Saul was trying to arouse the people and win their allegiance in an onslaught against Jabesh Gilead, "he took a yoke of oxen, and cut them in pieces, and dispatched them throughout all the territory of Israel by the hand of the messengers, saying, 'Whoever does not come forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done to his oxen'" (I Sam. 11:7; cf. Judg. 19:29-30).<sup>4</sup> Ancient accounts of law were often accompanied by statements of blessing and cursing also.<sup>5</sup> Essentially the

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1. Cf. IVH, 11-18.

2. GE, 133.

3. Cf. Causse, "Bénédiction et Malédiction dans l'Ancien Testament," RA (1926) 158-164.

4. GE, 134.

5. Cf. Epilogue to the Code of Hammurabi. J. B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, (Princeton: University Press, 1955) 177-180. Also the 12 curses in Dt. 27:14-26 and the tôrôt in Ps. 15; 24:3-6; 50; 81; 95; GE, 134-135.

Deuteronomist says if you keep the tôrâ you will be blessed. If you do not keep it you will be cursed. However, it is not a question of producing magical activity. The words of Deuteronomy 26 are a "call to reason and demonstrations proceeding from a logical conception of the relationship of natural and moral life. Justice<sup>1</sup> creates blessing; justice produces peace, salvation, and life" (cf. Dt. 28:3-7).<sup>2</sup>

Thus in Deuteronomy that response which man could supposedly bring about<sup>3</sup> by virtue of magical and cultic practices<sup>4</sup> is now explicated as Yahweh's remuneration, because of his covenant loyalty and is the natural result of the fulfillment of the tôrâ.

When one arrives at the religion of the tôrâ in Deuteronomy, the divine word is becoming fixed in a written text. "This growing role of the written word is a symptomatic indication

1. Causse here follows J. Pedersen, Israel I-II, (London: Oxford University) 336-377, who maintains that in Deuteronomy the primitive ideas are much more concrete and realistic than ancient exegesis understood them. However, Causse thinks Pedersen has considered these ideas in a static state, and that for the relationship of sedek and berakâ it is perhaps not so essential or original as one might suppose. The form in which they occur in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, the Psalms, and Job (the basis of Pedersen's discussion) attests the influence of prophetic preaching, sapiential reflection, and Jewish legalism. This form was already the product of rationalizing thought. GE, 136-137 note 4.

2. GE, 135.

3. Fertility of the soil, productive flocks, victory in war, GE, 136.

4. Agrarian rites, offering of the first fruits, sacrifices of prosperity, rites of fecundation, incantations of magicians, and prophetic oracles against enemies. Cf. Lévy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality, 307-351; Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, 1-42; Pedersen, Israel I-II, 182-212; GE, loc. cit.



of the new social conditions and of a transformation from the mentality of primitive Israel."<sup>1</sup> But there is an implicit danger in this transition. What now will be the function of the inspired word or of prophecy? Will these not be replaced by the written law and the scribe? With Deuteronomy Jewish legalism has not fully grown to a religion of the letter of the law. As has been observed, the Deuteronomist exercises with liberality his interpretation, transformation, addition to, and subtraction from ancient traditions through his own rationale. Thus man's attention is directed not to a new letter of the law, but to a new spirit of the law. This is reflected particularly in the humanitarian tendencies of the author.

Let us consider one or two examples from Causse's analysis.<sup>2</sup> In ancient Israel a man who had murdered someone could take refuge in the sanctuary and having touched the four corners of the altar he was protected from the one who pursued him to avenge the blood. The fugitive by entering the sanctuary had become divine property, and the people had a somewhat mystical fear of that which was sacred and holy. Although the tradition is maintained in Deuteronomy, it is decidedly altered, e.g. Dt. 19:1-13. A distinction is made between intentional and accidental murder. For the Deuteronomist it seems unreasonable that the former should escape all punishment as would have been possible with the primitive

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1. GE, 137 note 1.

2. GE, 139-144.

tradition. It is no longer a question of refuge in a sanctuary before the altar, but in three particular cities, thus undermining the mystical fear of that which is divinely possessed.

The humanitarian preoccupations of Deuteronomy may also be seen in the prescription regarding gathering of the last fruits of the field, Dt. 24:19-22,<sup>1</sup> where a primitive taboo assuring the survival of the growth of vegetation after the harvest has been supplanted by a beneficent notion of providing for the resident alien, orphan, and widow. The primitive notion of preserving the army from evil influences is also transformed, Dt. 20:6-7. Primitively the man who came from the planting of the vine (Num. 6:2-5; Judg. 13:4-5; Am. 2:11)<sup>2</sup> and marriage (I Sam. 14:24-45; 21:5,6; II Sam. 11:11)<sup>3</sup> was still under the action of the powers of vegetation and fertility.<sup>4</sup> One could not be prepared for holy war if he were tainted by these powers. Holy war required the observance of prescriptions of abstinence and purity.<sup>5</sup> But the Deuteronomic Code pays little or no attention to these primitive notions and in what Oausse calls a rather "naive intention of

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1. See Ex. 23:10,11 where the redactor of the Code is apparently of the same school as the Deuteronomist. This redactor also makes of the primitive taboo of the sabbath an institution of social protection. Ex. 34:21; GE, 142.

2. GE, 143.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. similar customs among the Arabs in G. Jacob, Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen, (Berlin: Mayer & Mueller, 1895) 144-145; GE, loc. cit.

5. Ibid.



benevolence"<sup>1</sup> says: "Let him go back to his house lest he die in battle and another take his wife and enjoy his fruit" (Dt. 20:6,7).<sup>2</sup>

The political and social program of Deuteronomy reflects a transformation of ancient authority. Family solidarity has greatly diminished<sup>3</sup> and the father stripped of his priestly functions. Sacrifices are to be offered only at the designated sanctuary--the one where Yahweh's name dwells, Dt. 12:11-16. The father's right of absolute authority over his material possessions and the prerogative of execution of an unjust child are restricted, Dt. 21:15-17, 18-21; and the wife now has some specific rights, Dt. 22:13-21.<sup>4</sup>

The centralization of the cult in Jerusalem had tremendous social and ethical results. The elders now shared more or less their functions with the Levites.<sup>5</sup> The oligarchy of the patriarchal family has disappeared. Deuteronomy invested the kōl yiśrā'ēl, all of Israel or the assembly of the people, with supreme authority in the society, Dt. 29:10-14. This was a decisive moment in the sociological evolution of Israel. The transition was made from a society based on a collective

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1. GE, 144.

2. GE, 143.

3. The role of the family is revived in the diaspora and is one of the primary means whereby Judaism survives. The early beginnings of this revival are alluded to in Dt. 6:7,8,20. DI, 72-73.

4. See Ex. 21:7-11; F. Buhl, Die sozialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten, (Berlin: Reuther & Richard, 1899) 49-52.

5. On their function cf. Weber, Ancient Judaism, 181-198.

prosperity or failure oriented to its king. In Deuteronomy the prosperity or failure of the people rested upon the populace.

With the centralization of the cult there is progress toward Judaism. Jerusalem is the holy city which will one day be the scene of the reassembling of the dispersed tribes. However, the cultic interregnum separated the cult from its rural environment. It lost its intimate attachment to nature and the family. The cult of Yahweh no longer was a part of the everyday life of Israel, where man lived side by side with his <sup>Y</sup>lōhîm. "With the law on the centralization of the cult, this continual penetration of religion and the activity of man comes to an end. The sacred is more clearly distinguished from the profane. Daily life is profane."<sup>1</sup>

In Deuteronomy there is reaction against the cult of the king with the establishment of the law of the king, Dt. 17: 14-20. He must be of Israelite origin, chosen by Yahweh, possessor of no great number of horses, have no harem, maintain a modest treasury, be pious, fear Yahweh, and put his ordinances into practice. Such restrictions were a natural response to the murder of Amon and the subsequent revolution which brought about the advent of Josiah. They also reflect the fact that the transcendental nature of the king as the essential liaison between God and society--God's shepherd of his people, the priest after the order of Melchizedek, Yahweh's begotten son--is passé, at least in Deuteronomy. This transcendental nature the Israelite monarchy under David had shared

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1. GE, 153 note 3.



with other Oriental monarchies.<sup>1</sup> For example, "he [the king] may not consider himself more exempt [from law] than his fellow countrymen" (Dt. 17:20).<sup>2</sup> In preserving the monarchy Deuteronomy appears to consider it a superfluous institution. "It is Yahweh who is king of the people; and like the authors of the ancient codes, the legislator continues to ignore the role and functions of the state."<sup>3</sup>

The military code of Deuteronomy also reveals a humanization of primitive mystical elements<sup>4</sup> of the notion of the milhāmôt Yahweh. The author sought to humanize recruitment, as well as war in general; and victory will be assured only by Yahweh who is able to save his people.

The humanitarianism found in Deuteronomy is certainly no innovation in Israel, but the spirit of this beneficent tendency is revolutionary. "Justice is a synonymn for gentleness and mercy."<sup>5</sup> The weak are to be protected by the strong. Yahweh himself is the defender of the weak and powerless, Dt. 24:14,15. Thus there developed the law of mutual aid--specific prescriptions regarding helping the poor (Dt. 15:7,8; cf. Ex. 22:25),<sup>6</sup> exaction of interest (Dt. 23:19-20;

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1. GE, 156; cf. POB, 149-166.

2. GE, loc. cit.

3. GE, 157.

4. The herem Dt. 20:16-17; cf. 13:15-17; the words of the priest before battle Dt. 20:3-4; GE, 158.

5. GE, 160.

6. GE, 162.

cf. Dt. 28:12),<sup>1</sup> the poor's right to glean the fields, incorporation of foreigners, indigents, levites, orphans and widows into family festivals. Deuteronomy went still further. For those without inheritance the three year tithe to the poor was established (Dt. 14:28,29).<sup>2</sup> Causse claims that the Deuteronomist has here ignored the primitive notion of agrarian and seasonal sacrifice and "legislates without taking account of the essential conception according to which all that is destined for God, such as offering and sacrifice, must be rigorously retained as sacred."<sup>3</sup>

The law of mutual aid in Deuteronomy placed mercy above legal justice. Yahweh is the Lord of history; he is Israel's only hope of salvation; Israel owes everything to him. It is in this spirit that each man must regard his neighbor.<sup>4</sup> Deuteronomy sought to establish an equilibrium in Israelite society. The rural Israelites were the forgotten class. They had been oppressed, made slaves, and exploited by urban aristocracy. Hence, the laws of remission were prescribed. They were actually imposition of limitations on property owners.<sup>5</sup> The author of Deuteronomy sought to guard against producing

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1. GE, 163.

2. GE, 164.

3. Ibid., note 2.

4. In Egypt and Babylon are found laws protecting the rights of property owners, but the goal is protection and not the exaltation of mercy; GE, 166-167.

5. Ex. 23:11 the law of the year of untilled land. See GE, 140-141 on its primitive significance, and see Ex. 21:2-6 on the law of the freeing of the slave.



an uprooted proletariat from among Israel's rural populace.<sup>1</sup>

The Deuteronomic legislator conceives "a plan of a perfect society, surmounting all the difficulties which are opposed to its realization. That is not to say that the Deuteronomist legislates in the abstract. Certainly, this code, any more than the other laws of Israel, cannot be considered as a 'code d'Etat,' promulgated by a prince and susceptible to immediate application, as was the case with the Code of Hammurabi and the Hittite Code: it is a theoretical construction, a program of reform. Yet, the author of this program had in view certain historical circumstances, with some immediate applications, responding to the needs of the hour and the aspirations of a very real political and social milieu. He wants to preserve and restore the class of small Israelite countrymen, threatened by the development of the latifundia."<sup>2</sup>

What were the possibilities for the realization of Deuteronomy's ideal society? The program had grown up in a time of turmoil. The ancient solidarity had been all but shattered with the coming of the monarchy. The rural cult was gone, the family as the integral unit in a cohesive Israelite society was diminished. The mystic authority of ancient formulas was brought into question. The author of Deuteronomy struggled to reclaim the solidarity of Israel by going beyond ancestral tradition and ancient law by rationalizing and humanizing

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1. The laws regarding reestablishment of family property in the Holiness Code are the natural result of the foundation laid by Deuteronomy. There the concept of the earth as God's finds full expression, GE, 172.

2. GE, 169.

them. Thus he "introduced the destructive hammer of individual reflection into the sacred domain of ancestral tradition."<sup>1</sup> How could he possibly restore that which he undermined? He declared, "You shall fear Yahweh your God, and you shall serve him. You will have pity on the poor and the indigent." Family solidarity will henceforth be established on a voluntary basis. Social cohesion will be by choice and not by kinship. Ancient custom was retained but the spirit of its observance was revolutionized. Each man was responsible for his attitude toward his neighbor. "In the place of the ancient physico-magical solidarity, he established a voluntary solidarity, a fraternity."<sup>2</sup>

The prophetic influence is apparent in the transition from primitive collectivism to individualism, and the Deuteronomist's means of legislating this movement is interesting. While generally speaking to the people as a whole, in the penal law there is the emphasis of individual responsibility (cf. Dt. 24:16),<sup>3</sup> and a movement beyond collective responsibility. Deuteronomy addressed the children of Israel as a whole and also as individuals. Causse says the author in his exhortations acts more like a moralist and psychologist than a jurist, since he "had the feeling of the unity of the inner man."<sup>4</sup> The motivation for observing the law was transformed.

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1. GE, 174.

2. GE, 175.

3. GE, 176, see also 50-51.

4. GE, 177.



Why keep it? Because it was the heritage from the past?

No! Only out of love for Yahweh!<sup>1</sup>

It seems one is at the threshold of the New Testament, but Deuteronomy unfortunately did not lead one there. It led to the tôrâ of the scribes, not because of what it said but because in seeking to resolve the tension between statutes and the law in the heart Judaism took the way of the former. As Jeremiah 8:8 declared, "How can you say, 'We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us?' When lo, the lying pen of the scribes has turned it into a lie."

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1. Dt. 6:5; cf. 30:11-14. The latter text Causse says is probably a later addition, but it is in the spirit of primitive Deuteronomy, ibid.

PART THREE: THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF JUDAISM<sup>1</sup>

## A. FROM NATION TO JEWISH COMMUNITY

The origins of Judaism are shrouded with obscurities, but Causse finds the traditional view,<sup>2</sup> that it consists primarily in a Jerusalem restoration and the return of the exiles from Babylon, quite unsatisfying. It is rather more a question of "an evolution of Judaism, which is henceforth a diaspora, and of the passage from an ethnic people to a religious community."<sup>3</sup> Too much emphasis has been placed on the exile in Babylon and too little on the importance of an active diaspora outside Babylon.<sup>4</sup> In fact it is difficult to explain the preservation of Judaism after the ruin of Jerusalem, as well as the restoration of the city in the sixth and fifth centuries without a careful study of this diaspora, and especially in the pre-exilic period.<sup>5</sup>

Once Israel became a diaspora the central unit of Israelite society, the family, underwent additional change and transformation. It lost its primitive character and many of its political, economic, and cultic attributes. Paternal authority tended to decrease while the importance of the woman increased.

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1. GE, 183-235.

2. J. Wellhausen, Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte, (Berlin: Reimer, 1907) 148-151 on the role of those remaining in Judah; also R. Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel III, (Stuttgart: Kolhammer, 1928-29) 43-104; G. Hölscher, "Origines de la communauté juive à l'époque persane," RHPR 6(1926) 105-126; GE, 183.

3. GE, 184.

4. Cf. DI.

5. Ibid., 7.



The function of the family became the maintenance of the race and moral education. Family authority seemed to have as its basis a concentration of ethical values, and the moral intensity is accelerated. These new lines of development are seen in wisdom literature where the ideal of wisdom is realized in the circumstances of the life of the family and in the relationships between members of well defined social groups.

A strict monogamy was advocated which stressed the fidelity of husband and wife, as well as the obedience of children.<sup>1</sup> However, it was no easy task to maintain the purity of the family (Ez. 2:59-63; Neh. 7:61-65).<sup>2</sup> Ezra and Nehemiah radically opposed mixed marriages in their Jerusalem reforms. Of course, Israel's stay in exile in Mesopotamia and Egypt had led many Israelites into alliances with pagan families. This is indicated in the documents from Elephantine.<sup>3</sup> The family in Judaism was, in fact, quite open to syncretistic influences and relatively unstable.<sup>4</sup>

The cultic problem of the diaspora involves resolving the difficulty created by the fact that the exiles had traditionally worshiped Yahweh, who resided in heaven but was bound to the land into which he had delivered his people. How could he be worshiped on foreign soil? Would not Yahweh who

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1. GE, 191 note 1.

2. GE, 191.

3. Pritchard, op. cit., 222, 491. A. van Hoonacker, Une communauté judéo-araméenne à Eléphantine, (London: Oxford University, 1915) 24-26.

4. DI, 65-71.

had led the children of Israel through the wilderness, now lead them through the exile? A temple erected at Elephantine for the worship of Yahu indicates that Egyptian Jewry believed he would.

What of Babylonian Jewry? More under the influence of the Deuteronomic Reform which had centralized the cult in Jerusalem and which prohibited offering sacrifices and the singing of the songs of Yahweh on pagan soil, the Babylonian exiles knew that though the temple was in shambles, the tôrâ, the sacred word, remained. Israel's tenacious hold on the religion of the tôrâ, its statutes, its commandments, enabled the exiles to maintain their religious tradition (more than just a race) in spite of the influence of the gôyim. This is largely due to the prophets of the exile, such as Ezekiel and his followers, the disciples of Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah and his adherents, and the scribes who preserved history and prophecy of the past and prepared for the future of the cult.<sup>1</sup>

"And this was the great awakening of Israel, a movement which is first manifest, and with the most intensity, in the Oriental colonies, particularly in the Babylonian gôlâ and which leads in the Persian period to the grouping of Judaism, with Jerusalem as the spiritual capital and the tôrâ as the norm of the ideal life. But in any case it is clearly not a question of the restoration of a faded politic, with the social organization and national life whose evolution and decadence have

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1. Cf. DI, 26-50, 103-116 on the preservation and development of Jewish literature in Babylon and in the diaspora.



already been studied from the time of the judges and the first kings to the agony of the two kingdoms; it concerns a new sociological formation, which will be neither a federation of clans, nor a people, but a religious community in which destinies will no longer be bound to the conditions of an ethnic group and to the destinies of a state."<sup>1</sup>

This new sociological formation necessarily forced a break with past politics. Jeremiah 31:27-28 stated, "'Behold, days are coming,' is the oracle of the Lord, 'when I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of men and with the seed of cattle; and as once I watched over them to root and to pull down, to wreck, to ruin, and to build and to plant.'" The new building and planting of the new age were rooted in the new covenant which Yahweh will write in the hearts of men (Jer. 31:31-34).<sup>2</sup> Ezekiel advocated the abolition of the last remnants of monarchical civilization--all its corrupt customs and its paganized cult (Ezek. 3:22-24:27).<sup>3</sup>

The Deuteronomist historian underscored Ezekiel's firm declaration. The injustices of the kings have invoked Yahweh's wrath upon Israel (II Kings 17:7-11, 18-20).<sup>4</sup> History is the parade of the impious leading all humanity to catastrophe. Israel can but resign herself to Yahweh's vengeance and

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1. GE, 194-195.

2. GE, 109-111.

3. GE, 195.

4. GE, 197.

lament her sins (see the prayer of Solomon, I Kings 8:46-50).<sup>1</sup>

The Deuteronomist still adhered to the solidarity of the group, as in the tradition of ancient prophecy.<sup>2</sup> However, this was not true of Ezekiel. Causse avers that he abandons ancient solidarity.<sup>3</sup> With Ezekiel's emphasis on individual retribution, one arrives at the fullest expression of individualism thus far in the Old Testament (Ezek. 18:2-3, 19-21, 24).<sup>4</sup> Yet, as has frequently been seen, ancient traditions persist as long as possible and one does find vestiges of the old idea of collectivity in Ezekiel (Ezek. 18:29-30).<sup>5</sup> Ezekiel's call to personal repentance in 18:21-23 indicates that the individual was no longer to be made the servant of the destiny of the group. Ezekiel 3:17-19 is the proclamation of integral individualism for the first time:

"O mortal man, I appoint you a watchman to the house of Israel; and whenever you hear a word from my mouth, you shall warn them from me. If I say to the wicked, 'You shall surely die,' and you fail to warn him--if you say nothing to warn the wicked man from his wicked way, in order to save his life--he being wicked shall die for his iniquity, but his blood will I require at your hand. If, however, you warn the wicked man, and he turn not from his wicked conduct and his wicked way, he shall die for his iniquity, but you will have saved yourself."

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1. GE, 198.

2. In spite of II Kings 14:5-6, Amaziah's pardon of the sons of the murderers of Joash his father, Causse asserts that the Deuteronomist usually considered it the norm that the individual suffered for the group, and above all that the group must be smitten for the crimes of its leaders. Of. II Kings 21:10-15; 22:15-17; 23:25-27; Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. GE, 199.

5. GE, 201.



"This new position of the ethical and religious problem which puts the personal life in the foreground and not the maintenance of the political and social group or the cultic community, necessarily becomes the great conquest of Judaism. Henceforth, the religion of the tôrâ as well as the piety of the Psalms and the ethics of wisdom will assume the individualist conception of the relationship of man and his God."<sup>1</sup>

Causse carefully guards against swinging the pendulum too far toward individualism by stressing the fact that the persistence of the myth of the reestablishment of Israel kept alive the idea of the kōl yiśrā'ēl. There was the dream of a distant utopia--the reassembling of the exiles in the new Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> the gift of a new spirit (Ezek. 36:23-32)<sup>3</sup>--Israel returned to her own land which will flourish as a new garden of Eden (Ezek. 34:23-30; 36:6,11,33-38)<sup>4</sup>--the reuniting of Israel and Judah (Ezek. 37:15-28).<sup>5</sup> These themes which appeared only in fragmentary form among some of the earlier prophets now became the popular themes of exilic eschatology.<sup>6</sup> There was an anticipation of the imminent realization of the ethical

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1. Ibid.

2. Cf. A. Causse, "Le mythe de la nouvelle Jerusalem," RHPR 18(1938) 377-414; "Le vision de la nouvelle Jerusalem (Esaïe 60) et la signification sociologique des assemblées de fête et des pèlerinages dans l'orient sémitique," Mélanges Syriens 2(1939) 739-750; IVH, 59-67.

3. GE, 202.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Especially in the blessings and cursings of the eighth and seventh century prophets. Cf. H. Gressmann, Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905) 189f.; Der Messias, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929) 142-192; GE, 202.

and historical drama of the real Israel. A righteous remnant will emerge from Israel's shattered past of infidelity and corruption. Yahweh will establish the just society. However, the gulf between the present and future was broadened by the failure of immediate fulfillment of these dreams. The hope of the Jews began to detach itself from present reality and Israel's present society, and it was drawn toward a utopic and transcendent future.<sup>1</sup>

This eschatological idealism is reflected in Ezekiel's plan of the new Jerusalem and its temple, which in fact had little in common with the historical Jerusalem (Ezek. 40-48).<sup>2</sup> It had a different name Yahweh Šāmmā, Yahweh is there (Ezek. 48:35).<sup>3</sup> It had twelve gates instead of seven. The same idealism is found in Deutero-Isaiah's concept of the return of the diaspora, but without the regimentation and organizing features of Ezekiel. It is evident in such themes as the epiphany of Yahweh (Isa. 45:21 and Isa. 40:3-11; 42:10-16),<sup>4</sup> and the myth of the reassembling of the exiles (Isa. 43:5,6; 49:12)<sup>5</sup> set in the framework of the myth of the garden of Paradise (Isa. 40:3; 41:18-19; 43:19-20; 48:21; 49:9-11; cf. 35 and Ps. 126).<sup>6</sup> The exiles will return to their native land,

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1. GE, 204.

2. GE, 205.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien; GE, 207.

5. GE, 208.

6. Ibid.



to their sacred city, whose walls will be rebuilt. Deserted villages will again be inhabited and hills will be a veritable Garden of Eden. A truly just people will be established.

Causse refuses to see in these prophetic passages hyperbolic descriptions of historical events during the time of Cyrus, who, after his successful seizure of Babylon, permitted the return of the exiles of Palestine. Rather he finds here variations on some henceforth classical apocalyptic motifs. However, they are not emphasized at the expense of universalism. Deutero-Isaiah tended to embrace the world, the universe, and humanity as a whole (Isa. 41:5; 42:10-11; 45:22-23; 49:1,6; 55:4-5).<sup>1</sup> And in the vision of the new heaven and the new earth there is to be a transformation of nature.<sup>2</sup>

The movement was more and more toward apocalyptic and this had its sociological significance: "Henceforth Israel will live for its myths and through its myths. . .and in the regrouping of Judaism the social scope of the myth will be stronger than that of the organizations and institutions. How mediocre and obscure the attempts of realization<sup>3</sup> must have appeared beside the dreams of the clairvoyant ones."<sup>4</sup>

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1. GE, 210.

2. Isa. 60:1-3, 19-20 and especially 65:17-23. Here we see a second creation more perfect and more harmonious than the first, GE, 212.

3. The coming of Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, the reconstruction of the temple and walls of Jerusalem--all under Persian protection, GE, 213.

4. Ibid.

Haggai and Zechariah disclosed the weakening of the inspired word, but the vital nature of the myths. Israel's faith was in the rebuilding of the house of Yahweh and in reestablishing the cult of the temple. Therefore, Israel will receive the peace and blessing of Yahweh; the earth will yield its fruit. Yahweh will dwell in the midst of his chosen people and his chosen city (Hag. 2:3-9, 15-19; Zech. 2:8-13; 8:2-19).<sup>1</sup>

It has been the conclusion of many scholars that the last half of the sixth century, particularly the years which precede and follow the restoration of the temple, were a time of great messianic awakening in Palestine. "But in fact, the political messianism with the announcement of the reestablishment of the house of David, in which the historians of the Wellhausen school saw an essentially post-exilic manifestation, appears only to have enjoyed a rather secondary role in the formation of Judaism."<sup>2</sup> There may well be allusions to the rise of Zerubbabel in Haggai and Zechariah (Hag. 2:20-23; Zech. 6:11-13),<sup>3</sup> but there is little reason to believe on the basis of the texts themselves that this led to a national uprising whose sole end was the reestablishment of the Davidic monarchy. The movement is primarily religious and pacifistic, thus in congruence with ancient prophecy. It was not a Zionist movement seeking to rebuild the temple and Jerusalem, and to enthrone a Davidic king. This movement expressed the hope

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1. GE, 214.

2. Ibid.

3. GE, 215.



of the dispersed religious communities who sought a rallying point.<sup>1</sup> Hence the exiles looked to Jerusalem not so much as the Davidic city and the city of the temple, but as the holiest of cities where the faithful find themselves bound each to the other in unity and to which they make pilgrimages.

One is often careful to note the contrasts between the prophetic literature and the Priestly Code. The former is primarily a vigorous and ecstatic announcement of the word of Yahweh, while the latter is essentially the crystallizing of traditions into a system of law and ethics. It is true that Ezekiel seems to give us foreshadowings of the Priestly Code in its pre-legislative parts. Regardless of how well defined the contrasts may be between the two literatures, Causse finds the prophets and scribes motivated by the same faith. They anticipated the fulfillment of the same myth, and had some common sociological concepts.<sup>2</sup>

The Priestly Code is indeed a program for a utopia, but unlike Ezekiel 40-48 its program is not set within the context of a vision of the future. It is placed within the past history of Israel--the time of the patriarchs, and especially Moses. The author of P "frames his legislation in a philosophy of history of great breadth, a description of the origin of Israel and humanity."<sup>3</sup> Of course, this systematizing of the legends of ancient Israel tended to remove from them their color and vibrance. One is thrust into a world of

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1. GE, 217.

2. GE, 218.

3. Ibid.

genealogies relating the foundation of Israel from Adam, a world of patriarchs who fear God and walk in purity among the people, and with two of whom (Noah, Abraham) Yahweh made covenants. Causse feels that the significant place of the covenant in the early priestly material may not lead one necessarily to conclude that the author had preserved the sense of the ancient b<sup>e</sup>rit. Here there is not a return to primitive mystique. The primary emphasis is not the idea of the establishment of communion between the group and the God of the group. Rather the b<sup>e</sup>rit takes on juridicial form with a charter which is to be observed. "The legislator recalls with precision the circumstances of this contract, with the rites and institutions, without attempting to interpret them and moralize them as the Deuteronomist did, but with the pre-occupation of rigorously fixing the detail and completing them with all exactitude."<sup>1</sup> These regulations led to the inauguration of the Jewish community under Moses and Aaron. Here Causse finds the raison d'être of the Priestly Code. It sought to establish a theocracy--not the just society of Deuteronomy, but a church with its ritual.<sup>2</sup> This new society was one of priestly hierarchy and worshipers.<sup>3</sup>

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1. GE, 219-220.

2. Ibid.

3. The assembly of Israel, 'edâ, holds a less important place in P than the kôl yisra'el in Deuteronomy. Also 'edâ replaces qāhāl which concerns the gathering of the assembly for taking part in the functions of national life. 'edâ designates, however, the cultic assembly. The 'ōhel mō'ed is the tent in which Moses and Aaron consulted Yahweh and to which the Israelites came to present themselves before Yahweh. Ibid.



The utopic society of P had as its fulcrum a priestly hierarchy. The rights and functions of the priest were spelled out with utmost precision. The author made the distinction Ezekiel had made between priests,<sup>1</sup> the sons of Zadok, and Levites even more distinct. He probably created the myth of Aaron as founder of the priestly dynasty and prototype of the kōhēn haggādōl, since it is only in P that the Aaronites can offer sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> The Levites were but the sextons of the house of Yahweh, in charge of maintenance (Num. 3:10; 16:1,8-11, 16-22,32,33,36-40).<sup>3</sup>

The priestly hierarchy was under the leadership of the kōhēn haggādōl. He was essentially the head of the cult.<sup>4</sup> Taking the place of the king-priest, the kōhēn haggādōl exercised mystical powers and was the intermediary between God and the worshipers.<sup>5</sup> However, one must remember that at this time there had ceased to be a king in Judah. The head of state was a representative of the Persian king. And it is important to observe that the political and spiritual direction of the people is derived from an earlier period by putting the imprimatur of Moses upon it and not that of the kōhēn haggādōl and the Aaronic priesthood.

Participation in the life of the theocracy presumed taking

1. The priests alone could offer sacrifices and approach the very holy places.

2. GE, 221.

3. GE, 222.

4. His function and even the ceremony for his consecration are given in detail. Cf. the description of vestments in Ex. 39:27-31; ibid.

5. GE, 223.

part in the elaborate system of sacrifices and purification rites. The sacrifices were varied and differed in form, offering, and motive. The sacrificial system was not merely a syncretistic testimony to the preservation and influence of foreign traditions, but reveals elements both old and new.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of such an elaborate framework of sacrifice was much more to maintain the purity of the community and its members than to renew the covenant between the group and the god of the group. The varied and detailed sacrifices for sin,<sup>2</sup> and the element of substitutionary sacrifice (e.g. the scapegoat of Lev. 16) indicate a "return of particularly great superstitions, which characterized the penitential ritual of the Leviticus Code, and seems to have been one of the traits of Oriental piety of this period."<sup>3</sup> The magical conception of purity and impurity has supplanted the call to individual and social repentance.

From an ethical point of view the Priestly Code is inferior to that of Deuteronomy, where there was reflection and interpretation of tradition leading toward a more charitable and humane society.

The Priestly Code also preserved festal traditions. Special days and feasts were to be observed in the Jewish

1. See R. Dussaud, Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice Israélite, (Paris: Leroux, 1921); Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament, (Paris: Geuthner, 1937) 110-113 on the more recent syncretistic influences. Also R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, trans. by J. McHugh, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1961) 415-451.

2. 'āšām, sacrifice for sin; ḥaṭā't, reparation for sin, GE, 225.

3. Ibid., Causse refers here especially to the development of penitential magic in the second Babylonian empire. On the rites of expulsion of evil and expiation among primitives in the mystery religions cf. J. Frazer, The Golden Bough, (London: Macmillan, 1955) 509-545.



community, such as the weekly sabbath, Passover, the day of atonement, the Feast of Weeks, the Feast of Tabernacles, the sabbatical year, and the Jubilee year. Causse notes, however, that in retaining such rites the writer "has forgotten the primitive significance of agrarian magic."<sup>1</sup>

"As for the sacrifice of the pascal lamb, it had been instituted for the redemption of the first born because Yahweh struck down the first born Egyptians and spared the Hebrews. The tents of foliage of the Feast of Tabernacles do not celebrate the enchantments of vegetation and the joy of the harvests, but recall the forty years that Israel wandered in the desert in order to expiate her errors, living under tents. But the characteristic celebration of the Priestly Code, whose spirit was reflected more or less in other celebrations, is the celebration of atonement. Here is no longer the traditional rejoicing and mirth of the successful rural life in the midst of nature which it has made productive through its work: it is a question of purifying the community from its faults, of humbling itself before Yahweh, of expiation by the blood of sacrifice and by rites of propitiation. The blood sacrifices were particularly numerous in this cult [P]; blood was necessary in order to assure the sanctification of the community and make possible the normal relationship between the human and divine."<sup>2</sup>

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1. GE, 227, as in the rite of the first sheaf of grain waved before Yahweh, and the offerings of bread made with new wheat flour for the Feast of Weeks, Lev. 23:10-17. Cf. Frazer, The Golden Bough, on agrarian and sylvan cults.

2. GE, 228.

The Priestly Code probably did not include all cultic practice. The exact contents of the tôrâ of Ezra (Ez. 7:14)<sup>1</sup> are uncertain. Whether it was in fact the tôrâ of the Priestly Code or some other collection of laws<sup>2</sup> one cannot be sure.

Little is known about the situation of Jerusalem<sup>3</sup> after the reforms of Ezra-Nehemiah; only what is gleaned from Joel, Deutero-Zechariah, the Chronicler, the Elephantine papyri, and Josephus's Antiquities. The literature indicates that Jerusalem became the magnetic pole toward which the fragmentary communities of the diaspora were drawn. It became the symbol of the unification of Judaism in practice, literature, and thought.<sup>4</sup>

The priesthood of the temple, contrary to the general line of P, began to affirm its temporal power. The priest-kings of the Hasmonean dynasty were the epitome of such authority. The kōhēn haggādōl of P was primarily only a cultic leader.<sup>5</sup>

As a matter of fact, the system of cult and the plans of organization which the Priestly legislator prescribed actually did not fit in too well with the conditions of fifth century Judaism. The cult was rigidly localized in Jerusalem, thus

1. GE, 229.

2. Ez. 9 & 10; Neh. 8 & 9; both are not decisive on either position. Neh. 13:4-27 does not seem in line with the program of the last Mosaic legislator, ibid.

3. Cf. DI, 54-58, 161-164 on the situation of Jerusalem in the 2nd half of the Persian Period.

4. Ibid.

5. Supra, 138.



religious society was restricted not unlike one of the Jewish ghettos of the diaspora. To say the least, this was no great unifying motif for all of the diaspora. The new Jerusalem had not arrived. The utopia was always in the distance, never a present reality, and "the cult of the temple never had more than a theoretical importance for a majority of the diaspora, even in the day when the supremacy of Jerusalem had been definitely recognized by all the colonies."<sup>1</sup> Causse draws this conclusion on the basis of sanctuaries outside Jerusalem which existed in the Persian and even Greek periods.<sup>2</sup>

There were, of course, some regulations which did not focus on the Jerusalem cult exclusively--those regarding the sabbath,<sup>3</sup> circumcision,<sup>4</sup> impurities,<sup>5</sup> and fasting. In observing these prescriptions Israel became the Jewish tôrâ community. The tôrâ was the unifying element, and man would be truly

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1. GE, 231 note 2.

2. Isa. 19:19, an altar and massēbah in Egypt; 66:1-4, against those who built a sanctuary to Yahweh; Mal. 1:10-11 on offerings and sacrifices which are offered in the name of Yahweh among the nations; at Elephantine the temple of Yeb. Cf. DI, 77-95; GE, 232.

3. It goes back to creation. Ex. 31:16-17. Cf. death for breach of sabbath law Ex. 31:14; 35:2; Num. 15:32-35; GE, 233.

4. As an ancient sign of initiation into manhood it was shared in common among many Semitic peoples. In P it becomes the supreme sign of the covenant, e.g. Gen. 17:11-12, 14; ibid. See also A. van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, trans. by M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee, (London: Rutledge & Paul, 1960) 51, 70-73, 81, 85-86. Causse made use of this volume, first published in French in 1908, during the course of his research for GE; see loc. cit.

5. Lev. 11; 12; 15; 17:12, 14 and Gen. 9:4 on the primitive idea of purity and impurity and holiness. Cf. A. Lods, Israel, trans. by S. H. Hooke, (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1932); Smith, The Religion of the Semites; M. J. Lagrange, Les religions sémitiques, (Paris: Lecoffre, 1905).

pious when he kept the commandments and regulations of Yahweh by implementing them. The diaspora may not have been united in one place, but it could be united in common practice.

"Be careful then, to observe all my statutes, and ordinances, lest the land, into which I am about to bring you to live, vomit you out. You must not follow the customs of the nations whom I am driving out of your way; it was because they did all of these things that I abhor them, and say to you, 'You shall take possession of their land; I give it to you to possess, a land abounding in milk and honey.' I, the Lord, am your God who have separated you from other peoples" (Lev. 20:22-24).<sup>1</sup>

"So you must be careful to observe my commands, since I am the Lord" (Lev. 22:31).<sup>2</sup>

"You must be holy; for I, the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19:2).<sup>3</sup>

Even though Israel may dwell among peoples, she is separated--set apart--chosen to be holy and pure by observing the laws of Yahweh. These verses reflect the philosophy of history of the Priestly Code: Israel shall endure only by maintaining the integrity of her religious tradition regardless of where she may find herself. It is the tôrâ which provided the impetus and means for this goal; it united the dispersed in common observance and practice.<sup>4</sup>

#### B. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECTS IN JUDAISM

The ideals of Judaism now shifted for their full expression

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1. GE, 235.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. Max Weber's excellent section on this function of the tôrâ, op. cit., 350-355; and DI, 48-50, 121-126.



to the communities of the diaspora, and since groups are divided geographically and many of them have varied interests, rural and urban, it is no surprise to find sects developing in Judaism. Their development does not necessarily suggest friction within the diaspora, but reflects the willingness of the exiles to become voluntarily attached to a group whose objective was moral cohesiveness, worship, preservation of tradition, protection, and instruction. These sects did not require a legacy of particular ancestral lineage for membership and were detached from ethical and political contingencies of the day. The origins of these sects in many instances may have had roots in the pre-exilic period, but "in the exilic diaspora the role of the sects grew all the more important since the national bond had been broken and since the ancient social groups, the mišpāhôt and the 'ammîm no longer existed, or had lost their cultic capacity."<sup>1</sup>

Some sects developed in Babylon which were interested in collecting and interpreting prophetic oracles and the ancient tôrôt. According to the Chronicler there were groups of scribes and priests in Mesopotamia-Chaldea quite similar to the priestly schools of the Babylonian sanctuaries (Ez. 7:6-13,21; 8:16,24).<sup>2</sup> The function of the sōp̄erîm and mēbînîm was academic and didactic. They were to study the law of Yahweh and teach it to the people. As teaching became more important in the preservation of ancient tradition, the role of the priest and scribe

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1. GE, 237.

2. GE, 237-238.

became more intimately associated. Hence Ezra was both kōhēn and sōpēr. There were also guilds of Levites and netînîm in the Oriental diaspora.

In Egypt a group of Jeremiah's followers joined in an effort to record in fixed form the account of his deeds and his inspired words.<sup>1</sup> Toward the end of the fifth century another group sought to propagate the aspirations of Deutero-Isaiah and the religion of the tôrâ throughout the diaspora.<sup>2</sup> A reformist sect brought legalistic and pietistic changes to Jerusalem in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ez. 3:3).<sup>3</sup> This group was in direct conflict with the priestly aristocracy (Ez. 10; Neh. 4,6,13).<sup>4</sup>

These sects, which assumed the form of religious communities, probably gathered in places of assembly other than the sanctuary of Jerusalem or even others which existed in the diaspora.<sup>5</sup> The institutions of the bēt t<sup>e</sup>pillâ,<sup>6</sup> house of prayer, and the miqrâ,<sup>7</sup> the holy congregation for sabbath ob-

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1. Causse maintains that most of the Book of Jeremiah was edited in Egypt, especially chapters 42-44 and references to colonies of the delta: 24:8; 26:22-23; cf. 43:6; 45:5; GE, 238.

2. GE, 202-210.

3. GE, 239.

4. Ibid.

5. DI, 74-77.

6. Isa. 56:7, "I will bring them to my holy mountain, and will make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be welcome upon my altar, for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples," ibid.

7. Lev. 23:3, "For six days work may be done, but on the sabbath day there is to be a sabbath of complete rest, a religious assembly, when you must not do any work at all; it is to be a sabbath for the Lord in all your places of abode," ibid.



servance, gained high importance during the exile. There were assemblies also for the Passover (Ex. 12:3-14)<sup>1</sup> and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 12:15-20; Dt. 16:7-8),<sup>2</sup> and these were observed not merely in Jerusalem but throughout the diaspora.<sup>3</sup>

Israel had been called by Yahweh to be holy among the nations. The diaspora must preserve the religious tradition of the broken nation. In this effort to do so there was a vacillation between particularism and universalism. In Deutero-Isaiah and in the psalms of the 'anawim one sees particularly the enlargement of horizons toward universalism. Deutero-Isaiah, the great prophet of the diaspora, addressed himself to all the nations. "Isles, hear me, pay attention, distant peoples" (Isa. 49:1).<sup>4</sup> "Here is an enlargement of geographical vision and religious thought. Yet national elohism remains the point of departure: the father God and protector of the social group."<sup>5</sup>

The prophet knew that he spoke to an Israel that was broken, persecuted, oppressed--a suffering people, but who had the promise of the "new" Jerusalem. The figure of the

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1. Ibid.

2. GE, 240.

3. See also the assembly of lamentation in Ps. 137:1, "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion," ibid.

4. GE, 242.

5. IVH, 45.

Servant of Yahweh<sup>1</sup> arose in Deutero-Isaiah and the group of the faithful, the remnant, became the true representation of Israel. To this group the poet spoke. Regardless of the position one takes as to a collective or individual interpretation (martyr and missionary) of the Servant, "the fundamental idea remains the same: the servant expresses the aspirations and incarnates the hopes of the small flock, of the faithful minority. Israel lives through the fidelity of an elite, and it is the struggles and sufferings of this elite which prepare the future and which bring to reality the design of God."<sup>2</sup>

Together with the development of these sects there is the development of larger parties which tended to line up against one another. Here particularly Causse signals the struggle between the 'anāwīm and r<sup>ev</sup> sā'īm in the Psalms. However, he feels that Mowinckel and his followers have overemphasized the importance of the primitive conceptions<sup>3</sup> where

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1. Ibid., 53-57; GE, 240-243. On the problem of the origins of the Servant Songs see PIR, 239-245. On the identity of the Servant see DI, 43-44.

2. GE, 243.

3. On the sense of the word 'āwen stressing its magical power and the role of the pō'alê 'āwen cf. S. Mowinckel, "Avän und die individuellen Klagepsalmen," Psalmstudien I. Mowinckel maintained that the struggle and oppression of the 'anāwīm in the Psalter had no place in the history of Israel before the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. Causse, to the contrary, says that the protests of the prophets from Amos to III Isaiah and Malachi reflect a conflict of pietists and the worldly. Furthermore, this conflict is properly situated in the world of history and political life, and not in the world of mystical and magical powers. PCB, 115-116 especially note 3. Cf. also Pedersen, Israel I-II, 428-452.



they insist on the casting of an evil spell by the pō'ālê 'āwen, incantation, and exorcism rather than on the more evolved ideas resulting from the preaching of the great prophets and the tôrâ.<sup>1</sup> At the time when the Psalms began to reach their fixed form, the late Persian and early Greek periods, the primitive significance of the struggle between the 'anāwîm and the r<sup>ē</sup>sā'îm was practically lost. The opposition was not expressed in the realm of magic, but in that of ethics and social life. "In spite of the survival of practices and popular superstitions, the decisive transition was completed. . . . This transformation must be considered as the decisive moment in the evolution of the religious poetry and piety of Israel."<sup>2</sup>

In this struggle of the 'anāwîm and r<sup>ē</sup>sā'îm in the Psalter there is reflected the spirit of the sectarian movement in Judaism--that of reformists and pietists. In this period the Psalms, almost all the various types, were probably edited and not without a profound imprint of the aspirations of the 'anāwîm. The evil gōvîm, the hostile and corrupt world--these were the despised. The faithful were beckoned to respond to Yahweh's call to a devout life, for it is he who can give peace and salvation.

No doubt many old songs were edited to reflect this spirit, but the 'anāwîm may also have composed their own expressions of prayer, confession, and supplication. While their end may

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1. GE, 247.

2. GE, 248.

have been cultic usage, they readily indicate the inner feeling of the soul of the individual and the group.<sup>1</sup> Before being assimilated into the poetry compiled for the Second Temple, these poems may well have been a vital part of the religious life of the sectarian communities in the diaspora, as well as among the groups who rallied about Zion. The exiles probably brought many such songs with them to the Jerusalem sanctuary where they were later incorporated into the official poetry of the temple.<sup>2</sup> "It is in this lyricism of the 'anāwîm that the religious genius of Israel, of Judaism, manifests the best of its creative energy and realized its most magnificent virtues."<sup>3</sup>

One can see in the exilic and post-exilic literature which discloses the conflict of the 'anāwîm and rēšā'îm the reflection of historical social conflicts. The faithful ones of Israel have been isolated and oppressed and made to suffer at

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1. Contrary to Mowinckel, Causse does not think that all the Psalms of individual lamentation had from their inception only and primarily a cultic purpose. He maintains that even before the exile Israelite poetry was making a transition from the collective cultic stage to individual poetry. It is precisely with the waning of national collectivity and crumbling of the Jewish diaspora after the exile that these new lines of development are crystallized. The freedom and subjectivity of the poet are accentuated and his poetry does not necessarily have a cultic destination. Mowinckel has in fact exaggerated his system and has not taken into account sufficiently the religious and literary history of Judaism. GE, 249-250 note 2.

2. They brought also books they had written and/or edited. DI, 103-115.

3. GE, 250.



the hand of the gôvîm (Isa. 41:17; 42:21-23; 50:6; 53:7).<sup>1</sup> Trito-Isaiah and Malachi as well as the Chronicler depict the debased social condition of the children of Israel. They have returned to their homeland only to find the lands of their forebears occupied by foreigners, and in the midst of their despair they set out with the dream of restoring the Holy City (Ez. 3:3; Hag. 1:6,9-11).<sup>2</sup> The plight of the 'anâwîm, however, did not improve (Isa. 59:3-8,12-15; 61:1-3; Mal 2:17; 3:5; 4:1-3).<sup>3</sup> The people of Judah underwent famine and slavery (Neh. 5:1-5).<sup>4</sup>

This struggle belongs to the world of history, despite Mowinckel's opposition to the idea.<sup>5</sup> Here actual reference to party and politico-social conflicts can be seen. It is interesting that in Mowinckel's exegesis where he deals with the ebionite tendency of the psalmists<sup>6</sup> he claims they belong to the inferior clergy. In other words they were a part of a group which was opposed to the dominating class from which the elite clergy was chosen. Causse finds this concession gratifying and is willing to accept Mowinckel's reservation that the terms 'ebyônîm, dallîm, and 'anâwîm do not in every instance indicate a specific sect within the society.<sup>7</sup>

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1. GE, 251.

2. GE, 252.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien I, 111-122.

6. Ibid., VI "Die Psalmendichter," 58-65; GE, 253.

7. GE, 252-253 note 8.

If the plight of the 'anāwīm is not an actual description of their social condition, it is necessary to advance to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the time of the divisive struggles within Judaism during the Maccabean monarchy, in order to provide a historical Sitz im Leben for the psalmists' opposition to the evil persecutors.

The psalmists affirmed Yahweh as the guardian of the social group, the defender of the oppressed, the refuge of the orphan; he lifts up the poor from the dust and raises the needy from the refuse heap (Ps. 10:14; 113:7-8),<sup>1</sup> lifts up them that are bowed down, releases the prisoners, and thwarts the way of the wicked (Ps. 146:8-9).<sup>2</sup> As the psalmists exalt the faith of the exiles who are persecuted by pagans (Ps. 42:10-11; 120:5-7),<sup>3</sup> they call those in distress, the party of God, to lead a life of piety, and they call upon Yahweh to deliver them from their enemies (Ps. 123).<sup>4</sup> The sufferers are assured that God will hear the prayer of the humble and sustain them (Ps. 49:6-16).<sup>5</sup> Yet, in the face of the prosperity of the wicked (Ps. 10:6,11; 37:7,12,14,16; 73:5,12)<sup>6</sup> there was a tendency to despair that Yahweh's justice will be realized (Ps. 13:2-3; 42).<sup>7</sup> Hence, the psalmist was moved

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1. GE, 254.

2. Ibid.

3. GE, 256.

4. Ibid.

5. GE, 257.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.



with new zeal to plead for Yahweh to impose his vengeance on the evil ones. Again a note of assurance was extended to the 'anāwîm. Yahweh's justice will one day rectify the injustice of the present world. Causse again departs from Mo-winckel, who would see this eschatological emphasis as related to the Day of Yahweh in which God will reveal himself against the gôvîm in the midst of catastrophes, with all the drama of the advent of the God-King as it was festally celebrated, and an echo of which is retained in a few of the cultic hymns of the Psalter. In Causse's view, "It is above all the question of the affirmation of a moral postulate: it is necessary that the just law of Yahweh, which is the just law of his faithful ones, be proclaimed."<sup>1</sup>

Ps. 58:10-11: "The righteous shall rejoice that he has seen vengeance; he shall wash his footsteps in the blood of the wicked. And men shall say, 'There certainly is a reward for the righteous; there certainly is a God who judges on the earth.'"

The poetry of the 'anāwîm also contains a profound sense of spiritual unity and brotherhood. Common worship was the binding tie of this religious fraternity. Theirs was above all an ethical unity, not the ancient blood unity, or some mystical kinship achieved through certain rites. The 'anāwîm, Yahweh's faithful ones, love one another and though they were the object of the persecution of the evil ones, they were bound together as "the members of the same spiritual family, closely related in the cult and in aspiration."<sup>2</sup> "Behold

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1. GE, 257-258.

2. GE, 259.

how good and how pleasant it is for brothers to dwell together in unity" (Ps. 133:1).<sup>1</sup>

This new sense of unity was openly expressed in the cult. Although the local sanctuaries of Israel had once been the rallying places for unity, with the formation of Judaism the conditions change.<sup>2</sup> With the restoration the Jews were able to express anew their unity in their great feasts. These celebrations gave vent to the realization of the myth of the "new" Israel wherein the holy people of Yahweh--a new people--would be gathered around the "new" temple (Ps. 122: 1-3; 34:1-8).<sup>3</sup> Yahweh had remained faithful to the covenant with the fathers of Israel. As the participants united in worship they were mystically united with Yahweh and shrouded with new hope.

It is not unusual that cultic assemblies should be mentioned in the Psalter; at times it is the qāhāl, at others, the ʿēdā (Ps. 22:23; 26:12; 35:18; 40:10-11; 111:1).<sup>4</sup> The piety of the ʿanāwīm indicates a love for worship in the house of Yahweh. Although Ps. 42:5 and 43:3-4 appear to reflect traces of the temple and the cult of the temple, Causse feels that the piety of the ʿanāwīm had a much broader base. It is rather more in the spirit of a great Jewish church as prescribed

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1. Ibid.

2. The centralization of the cult during the monarchy and with Deuteronomy had, of course, forced a great change already; but with the restoration the attention of Israel is now focused on the "new" Jerusalem; ibid.

3. GE, 260.

4. GE, 261.



in the ritual of the Priestly Code. The importance of priests and the sacrificial cult are, of course, very diminished in the Psalter, and this is all the more interesting for a book destined for liturgical use in the Second Temple. Arguing from silence, Gausse at first overemphasized the opposition to the priests and the lay character of the Psalms in Les pauvres d'Israël;<sup>1</sup> however, he qualified this greatly in his Du groupe ethnique,<sup>2</sup> while still stressing the fact that sacrifices played no large part in the religion of the ʿanāwîm. The covenant of Yahweh is affirmed not by the sacrifice of rams and bulls, but by faith and the sacrifice of justice. To be sure, there is much of the terminology of P,<sup>3</sup> but the mention of these traditional practices is not as important as raising prayer, praise, and song above sacrifice (Ps. 40:7; 50:7-15; 51:17,19).<sup>4</sup> In this regard the Psalms of the ʿanāwîm were congruent with the declarations of the great prophets who opposed the false cults of the sanctuaries. The Psalms, however, do not necessarily condemn existing cultic practice, but they provide the religious community with a new appreciation of the spiritual values of sacrifice and a new orientation of piety.<sup>5</sup>

It would be unjust to leave the impression that these in-

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1. PI, 81-82, 94, 96, 112.

2. GE, 263.

3. zēbah sēdeq, zēbah tōdâ, ʿôlâ, minhâ, nēdabâ; cf. Ps. 4:6; 27:6; 50:14,23; 66:13; 68:30; 76:12; 96:8; 107:22; 116:17; GE, 264.

4. GE, 265.

5. GE, 265-266.

novations were restricted to the cult in the diaspora; they were no doubt part of the Jerusalem cult as well. The psalm or song had a central place in worship as is indicated by the m<sup>e</sup>šôr<sup>e</sup>rîm and groups of faithful ones who comprised the choirs. The corporate singing was one of the high moments of the liturgy. Even in pre-exilic times the ancient lyric tradition of Israel was transmitted by guilds of singers in the sanctuaries of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

"The cult was a complex drama in which drama, music, and dance had their place, not only as arts of movement intended to provoke certain esthetic emotions, but also a magical means to influence mystical powers."<sup>2</sup> Collective emotion was sparked and the blessing of the gods invoked. Causse finds Durkheim's observation, that the same ritual gesticulations and the scanning of the same rhythmic words affirmed the social unity of the members of the group among primitives,<sup>3</sup> pertinent to our understanding of the psalms of the 'anāwîm. At the time when the Psalter began to take concrete form this mystical phenomenon was abundant throughout the mystery religions of the Orient and Greece.

Within the Psalter there appears the development of a new mystique. Among the 'anāwîm the conscience of the participating worshiper must no longer submit wholly to the group. It comes into its own. The cult no longer will merely give

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1. Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien VI, 37-65; PCB, 82-86.

2. GE, 267.

3. Durkheim, op. cit., 309-317.



expression to the collective life, but will direct the individual into an intimate relationship with God. "The religious society furnishes the framework and milieu in which a personal piety is developed."<sup>1</sup> Primitive social collectivism with all its cultic magic and provision of the cultic liaison between man and God was now left behind. The ʿanāwîm now spoke of religious experience developed in a direct relationship to the divine (Ps. 23; 36:9-10; 66:5; 91:1-2; and 16:5-6,8-10).<sup>2</sup> As the magical paraphernalia for divine-human communication became detached, prayer developed as the meditation of the inner man. It is the sôd Yahweh (Ps. 25:14),<sup>3</sup> intimate conversation with God, and the qirbat ʾēlōhîm (Ps. 73:28),<sup>4</sup> the approaching of God, which are stressed.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to note that Judaism did not follow so much the line of the new piety. The zeal expressed for the tôrâ led to a didactic emphasis on the law. This was no innovation, since the institution of teaching had already begun in the Persian Period, and in the scribal and wisdom schools. Causse stresses, however, that the tôrâ had its place alongside the song and prayer in the bēt tēpillâ of the diaspora. On feast days the ancient tôrôt had been taught. Ps. 15 and 24:3-6 provide us with remnants of some

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1. GE, 268.

2. GE, 269.

3. GE, 270.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

liturgical formulas specifying prescriptions which the cultic participants must be careful to carry out in order to be admitted to the holy place of worship. Although the ancient prophets stressed zeal for the tôrâ, which is also echoed in Deuteronomy, it is in the exilic period that the tradition moved toward final fixation in the written word--the book. This fixation tended to strengthen and propagate the didactic emphasis. The scribes were no longer only men who organized, formulated, and compiled Israel's religious heritage. They also taught. The sōp<sup>e</sup>rîm were now men in whom Judaism's future was embodied alongside the priests (Ez. 7:6,10; cf. the teaching of the tôrâ in Neh. 8:1-8,13).<sup>1</sup> Prayer, adoration, and confession were accompanied by the teaching of the tôrâ (Neh. 9:2-3).<sup>2</sup> Meditation on the tôrâ was not an overt ritual practice observable to the eye or audible, but it was incorporated into the practice of the cult along with songs, prayers, and sacrificial rites. "At the time when the last Psalms had been composed the tôrâ had become the object of regular teaching in Judaism, and the study and interpretation of the holy words were the great thing in life for the pious. The 'a<sup>a</sup>nâwîm are represented as men of the tôrâ; those who seek to understand, those who guard it, those who practice it with ardor."<sup>3</sup> The aim was not merely to observe the tôrâ for the sake of the tôrâ, but to meditate--search one's soul

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1. GE, 272-273.

2. Ibid.

3. Cf. Ps. 1:1-2; 19:8-11; GE, 273-274.



for its relationship to the tôrâ.

"This deepening of individual religion, to which Jewish legalism necessarily leads, is made within the traditional framework of the sect with the characteristic passions and aspirations of the sect."<sup>1</sup>

#### C. BEYOND THE ETHNIC GROUP AND CULTIC GROUP TOWARD JEWISH HUMANISM

While Causse has stressed with clarity the exclusivist tendencies of Jewish piety,<sup>2</sup> he emphasized that in the religion of the Psalter such exclusivism took on a new form and was accompanied by universalist tendencies<sup>3</sup> which go far beyond the traditional framework of Judaism. Indeed the psalmists' nationalism is not done away with, for the faithful rejoice over the annihilation of the gôvîm and rêšâ'îm on the day of judgment (Ps. 129:5; 9:6, 18-20).<sup>4</sup> Yahweh's elected people have faith in their God who has led them from age to age. He will not now be faithless to the covenant with Israel and forsake his people.<sup>5</sup>

1. GE, 276.

2. GE, 232-235, 240-243.

3. IVH, 69-98.

4. GE, 278.

5. It is interesting that Causse dates the Psalms of Holy History, e.g. 78, 105, 106 not in the monarchical period. He claims they are more recent and already have the mark of Jewish haggada. He emphasizes not so much their didactic as their liturgical character, and notes that we find in them allusions to the ruin of Israel and Judah, the dispersion of the tribes, the reassembling of the exiles (Ps. 106:40-47). "As Israel had been set apart among peoples (Ps. 105:5-6) and as the tribe of Judah had been set apart in Israel (Ps. 78:67-72), so the Jewish sect has also been set apart, cut off in the midst of the unfaithful and hostile crowd, but always guarded and protected by its God." GE, 279.

The universalism of Trito-Isaiah finds sympathetic expression in the Psalms,<sup>1</sup> especially in the Psalms of the advent of Yahweh. These Psalms bear the theme "Yahweh is king!" both as an inaugural formula and as a refrain (Ps. 99:1,3; 105:1).<sup>2</sup> Yahweh's omnipotence is strongly underscored. He is the creator of nature and of men. All creation is called to do him homage. Yahweh, king par excellence, will proclaim his justice to the ends of the earth.<sup>3</sup> This broadening of the horizons of Israel's world view by the psalmists goes far beyond the exclusivism of ancient Israel. They have precipitated a poignant expression of a new vision of the world and humanity. Yahweh reigns and his kingdom is all the world, hence his action embraces all humanity.<sup>4</sup>

It is a mistake to think that there is here merely a "new" theology or more evolved system of eschatology in which the mythology of the Day of Yahweh is enlarged to a transcendent

1. IVH, 75-80.

2. GE, 280.

3. These themes sound much like Deutero-Isaiah and many scholars believe he has greatly influenced the Advent Psalms which thereby are essentially eschatological. Mowinckel went so far as to suggest that Deutero-Isaiah simply reproduced some more ancient poetical fragments, and given them eschatological significance. Psalmstudien II, 95-110. Support for this position rests on Deutero-Isaiah's poetical ability which often was expressed in the utilization of more ancient models. Causse does not find, however, in the Advent Psalms the mark of a particularly original composition. He avers that these themes have, since the time of the exile, become habitual in religious poetry and the development of them is significant for their importance in the Jewish piety of this period. GE, 281.

4. Qf. Ps. 86:8-9; 96:1,7,9; ibid.



vision of the world in the future. In fact, here is the core of Jewish propaganda of this period--a call to the gôvîm to serve Yahweh and worship him. Ps. 115:9-11 and 135:19-21 are liturgies in which proselytes actually take part. A day is coming when the gôvîm will understand and the Jews will lead them on the great pilgrimage to the "new" Jerusalem. Causse finds these themes the expression not just of an apocalyptic utopia, but of an actual program which is spelled out with ardor and precision (Zech. 8:20-23; Isa. 9, 66; Ps. 87).<sup>1</sup>

Isa. 56:3,6-8: "Let not the alien who has attached himself to the Lord say, 'The Lord will surely separate me from his people.' . . . 'And the aliens who attach themselves to the Lord, to minister to him, to love the name of the Lord, and to be his servants; even everyone who keeps the sabbath by not profaning it, and holds fast by my covenant--I will bring them to my holy mountain, and will make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices shall be welcome upon my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples,' [thus says the Lord]. This is the oracle of the Lord God, who gathers the outcasts of Israel: 'I will yet gather to them those who were gathered against them.'"

Here the emphasis seems more upon a statute of the tôrâ than upon the "new" Jerusalem.

In the Priestly Code there are also special instructions for the gērîm, the proselytes. They have practically the same rights and responsibilities in the cult life of the community as the Jews (Num. 9:14; 15:14-16, 29; Ex. 12:19; Lev. 17: 8, 10, 15-16).<sup>2</sup> Of course, the universalism of P cannot be based

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1. GE, 283.

2. GE, 284.

solely upon this observation, but certainly by allowing the gēr to be subject to the basic holiness laws the author of P could not have conveyed the idea of the preservation of the purity of the assembly, qāhāl.

In this period there was missionary zeal throughout Judaism which manifested itself in diverse ways. One finds the element of forced proselytism (Isa. 66:23-24; Zech. 14:12,15,19; Esther 8:17),<sup>1</sup> as well as a universalism quite congruent with the moralism of the prophets and the individual religion of the tôrâ. The book of Jonah affirms anew the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah, with Yahweh relenting his anger against a pagan and wicked city whose people upon the threat of destruction by the prophet became repentant. Pagan humanity is valuable to God and its destiny is not devoid of hope.<sup>2</sup>

In the wisdom literature the last vestiges of religious nationalism fade almost completely away and Judaism expressed itself more in humane tendencies and in a more universal ethic.<sup>3</sup> This universalism which found its full expression with wisdom literature in the Judaism of the sixth and fifth centuries led toward humanism.

The wisdom movement in Israel does not appear to have been an indigenous movement,<sup>4</sup> for it was a discipline common to

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1. GE, 285.

2. Jon. 1:14,16; 3:5,8-9; 4:11; IVH, 88f.

3. Ibid., 81; GE, 288.

4. A. Causse, "Introduction à l'étude de la sagesse juive," RHPR 1(1921) 45-60.



Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Chaldea for centuries.<sup>1</sup> The Jewish diaspora had assimilated much of the wisdom movement, especially the Egyptian diaspora. The hākāmīm, wise men, were rather free from traditional exclusivism, and it was not to the Jew--the member of the Jewish nation--that they addressed themselves, it was to all humanity. The individualism and rationalism through which these men sought to explain the essential problems of the world and life were a far step beyond ancient tradition. Furthermore, the long unresolved tension between Israel and the nations was transferred to a tension between the wise and the ignorant. "The sages want to know all about life, and practice good. And this knowledge and practice are independent of institutions of ancient groups, such as ethnic religions."<sup>2</sup> Here is precisely where the rationalism of Jewish wisdom differs from that of Deuteronomy. The sages no longer delineated the lines of the new covenant and the law of God's holy people by reinterpreting past law, custom, and tradition and thus imposing a new spirit upon the same. The fulcrum of wisdom was not ancient tradition and institutions, but a radical individualism. The great themes of Israel's holy history are, for the most part, absent from the wisdom literature. Here a high monotheism is

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1. A. Causse, "L'origine étrangère et le caractère humaniste de la sagesse juive," AOHR 2(1923) 45-54; "Sagesse égyptienne et sagesse juive," RHPR 9(1929) 149-69; "La sagesse et la propagande juive," Werden und Wesen des Alten Testament, edit. Paul Volz, (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1936) 148-154; cf. Paul Humbert, Recherches sur les origines égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale, (Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université, 1929).

2. GE, 289.

found, a completely individualized concept of judgment, and the denationalization of God. The just virtue is the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom. "Wisdom and piety are synonymous, but in this piety it is neither a question of rites, sacrifices, fasts, sabbaths, nor feasts. The cult of the temple and the tôrâ, these two cornerstones of Judaism, no longer enjoyed a role; the sage knew that the ritual gesture and exact observance could not replace justice and uprightness of heart" (cf. Prov. 15:8; 21:3).<sup>1</sup> The prophets had already said the same thing but the moralism of the sages was on the whole devoid of the mystical piety and hope of the prophetic message. The wisdom movement recognized the humanistic ideals of mean virtues which would be of high importance for the destiny of humanity.<sup>2</sup> These virtues which included prudence, good sense, veracity, goodness, and peace were an integral facet of daily life. The result of such emphasis was not a mystical asceticism, but a practical morality lacking both national and sectarian passions.

This new movement within Judaism sought to propagate itself by intensifying proselytism--bringing the ignorant to the truth and beauty of wisdom. It is here that Jewish wisdom parts ways with one of its parents, Egyptian wisdom, which was limited to the elite of Egyptian society. The practice of justice demanded the spreading of knowledge to the ignorant of all nations. Therefore, religion and the

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1. GE, 291.

2. IVH, 86.



cult were profoundly humanized in wisdom literature. "Wisdom is universal; it is justice and reason; it is the doctrine of life."<sup>1</sup>

Prov. 8:1-4: "Does not wisdom call,  
And reason lift up her voice?  
At the head of the highways, on the road,  
Between the streets she takes her stand;  
By the gates that enter the city,  
At the doorways she cries aloud:  
'To you, O men, I call,  
And my appeal is to the sons of men.'"

Causse favors the Egyptian origin of Jewish wisdom, but admits that one can only say with some definiteness that its origin is extra-Palestinian. There does appear to have been a wisdom movement among the Egyptian diaspora, as is indicated by the Book of Ahikar among the Elephantine papyri, as well as the sapiential exhortations of the Book of Tobit. It is interesting that these papyri include no book of the cult or tôrâ fragments. They are only the vestiges of a compilation of wisdom in the context of an Oriental story.

As regards the wisdom movement, Israel received much influence from the outside, especially from Egypt and Babylon.<sup>2</sup> In the Old Testament, Job,<sup>3</sup> Proverbs,<sup>4</sup> Ecclesiastes, and a few of the Psalms belong to the wisdom genre.<sup>5</sup> The Wisdom

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1. GE, 294.

2. Also from Edom, Arabia, and Syria. See C. T. Fritsch, "Proverbs, Introduction," The Interpreter's Bible, IV, ed. by G. A. Buttrick, (New York: Abingdon, 1955) 767.

3. IVH, 81-83.

4. Ibid., 83-87.

5. Ibid.

of Sirach<sup>1</sup> and The Wisdom of Solomon,<sup>2</sup> both Apocryphal books, are also a part of Jewish wisdom. Similarities in literary form and certain concepts indicate there is an intimate relationship between the wisdom literature of Israel and that of neighboring Oriental cultures.<sup>3</sup> One fact is clear. Wisdom became an integral part of orthodox Judaism. Just precisely when this transference took place is not known, but by the time of the fixation of the Psalter it had transpired,<sup>4</sup> and the sapiential genre is reflected in the Psalms (e.g., 1; 19; 37; 49; 73; 112; 119; 127; 128; 133).

Causse avers that the "classical monument"<sup>5</sup> of the adaptation of wisdom to later Judaism is The Wisdom of Sirach.<sup>6</sup> The son of Sirach was not a sage after the ancient hākām, but by this time (about 180 B.C.) had become a "doctor of the law."<sup>7</sup> Holy books were the object of his study as well as the precepts of wisdom and the law which were now almost inseparably bound together. Wisdom had its dwelling place in Jerusalem and was identical with the tôrâ (Wisdom of Sir. 24:8,11,22; 51).<sup>8</sup>

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1. Ibid., 109-110.

2. Ibid., 141-149.

3. There is the possibility that "both sides drew upon a common source and adapted the material to their own culture." Fritsch, loc. cit., 768.

4. GE, 295.

5. Ibid., 296.

6. Ibid.

7. Causse, "La sagesse et la propagande juive à l'époque perse et hellénistique," BZAW 66(1936) 153.

8. GE, loc. cit.



"Sapiential humanism which had found its most audacious expression in Job and Qohelet is accommodated to the tradition of a people and a church. Holy history now takes a capital place in Wisdom, and Sirach exposed in lengthy chapters the eulogy of the great ancestors. From the patriarchs to Simon the Just, all the history of Israel is only a manifestation of eternal wisdom /Wisdom of Sir. 44-50:24/.<sup>1</sup> For the first time in a book of Wisdom the messianic hope is affirmed as an official dogma /Wisdom of Sir. 36/.<sup>2</sup> In fact, it is the decline of the hokmâ considered as an independent genre which begins here. But it appears that the individualism of the ancient sages could not be maintained. The crisis of Qohelet was already a sufficient witness to that. In associating itself with the tôrâ wisdom found the strong point it lacked; it now definitely entered into the Hebraic tradition. In any case, under this new form it took on an apologetic significance which was without a doubt not essential to it, but its propagandist activity was thus intensified. The Jewish doctors will seek to realize in their manner the program which the prophets of the exilic period had announced: to convert the world to the law of Yahweh. Then Judaism will be imposed on the world by the morality of its sages and the fear of a unique and just God, and more especially by the statutes of its cult and the ordinances of the tôrâ. When it became a question of gaining proselytes, the ritual observance could be reduced to a minimum, and Judaism appeared as a philosophical religion in which the traditional faith of Israel was united to the most elevated thought of the people and of human ideal."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., 297.

3. GE, 296-297.

## PART FOUR: THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE SECTARIAN MOVEMENTS

An interesting period of cultic and societal change arose in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. One might think that Jewish humanism would have led to a more solidified society. To the contrary, it led to both the humanization and individualization of religion. Causse proceeds to give a careful investigation of the parallels in the religious syncretism and movements of ideas from the Neo-Babylonian period to the period of the Hellenistic conquest.<sup>1</sup>

Political upheaval characterized the times. There was a degree of political unification under the Achaemenians and the religious toleration policies of the government provided a welcome milieu for religious syncretism. Under Darius's direction provinces were organized as well as an administrative system that was centralized and coherent.

The Persian kings were followers of Ahura Mazda. There was a steady growth of astral cults stressing the luminous and celestial nature of cosmic gods, which led to a rather monarchic view of universal order.<sup>2</sup> The development of cosmic deities which became widespread tended to thrust the activity of the deities beyond ethnic boundaries into the universal realm. They beckon the peoples of the earth. These deities tended to dominate the local and national gods. This development of universalization and denationalization of religion was an expression of a new need of lives,

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1. GE, 301-306.

2. IVH, 32.



and a particular social development in which the religious community tended to be organized outside the framework of political institutions and territorial regimes.<sup>1</sup> The long established forces which provided the guidance of man were waning. Religions developed which were not directed to the subject of a political realm as such, but to the individual man. The horizon of man was enlarged and at the same time religion was conceived in a more personal and living manner. Hence a crisis of Israel was not the focal point of such religious development. It is more the question of "a great social and religious movement, a veritable ground swell which profoundly stirs the ancient societies and leads to new conceptions of the spiritual life and new cultic groups."<sup>2</sup>

Following a series of comparative analogies of the Mazdeism of the Gathas and Judaism, especially in lyric literature, Causse concludes that the conception of life and the ethical ideal of both are very similar.<sup>3</sup> Does this mean one can claim mutual influence or dependence of both or one upon the other? Causse avers that neither claim can be made on the basis of literary parallels because of the confused state of the literary and critical problem of the Gathas.<sup>4</sup> However,

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1. GE, 305.

2. GE, 305-306; IVH, 29-37.

3. GE, 310.

4. L. H. Mills, Zarathustrian Gathas, (Chicago: Open Court, 1903) v-xviii; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, The Hymns of Zarathustra, trans. by M. Henning, (London: John Murray, 1952) 1-22; A. H. Bleeck, Avesta, (Hertford: S. Austin, 1864) ix-xx.

he does think that the Gathic literature may reflect a religious reform movement of the time contemporary with the origins of the formation of Judaism, and a sectarian movement itself.

More is known of the historical circumstances, and sociological and cultic framework surrounding the Hellenistic mystery cults. The dionysic, orphic, and pathagorean groups, and the cults of Serapis and Isis were quite differently structured from the ancient Israelite family cult. Membership was not voluntary or by ancestry. The men of these cults were elected, set apart for god and by god from profane humanity and drawn into esoteric associations through certain rites of initiation. At the core of their piety was the survival of ancient naturism with much of its magic. Any strong moral emphasis came only late in their development and even then was very slight. Furthermore, the adherence to a cultic code was replaced by a zeal for intimate piety, devotion, and love.

It has been maintained that the dionysic followers may have been largely responsible for injecting a spirit of democracy into the religion of the Greek city.<sup>1</sup> Gaining in strength at a time when the Greek city is being organized, they possibly collaborated with the state in the disorganization of ancient groups, and thus moved toward the liberation of the individual.<sup>2</sup>

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1. GE, 313.

2. G. Glotz, The Greek City and Its Institutions, trans. by N. Mallinson, (New York: Knopf, 1930) 161-175.



However, the new religious guilds or fraternities extended beyond the framework of the city, because of their concept of a specialized religious life, of a community and cultic society independent of group politics. To be in the total and complete service of god and preserved from contact with the impure world, that was their highest ideal.

"The new piety found its largest social expression from the fourth and third centuries on, when in favor of the expansion of Hellenism these religious fraternities began to multiply in the Mediterranean Orient."<sup>1</sup> Into these groups came men of diverse nationalities, of different classes of society, and even women. They were "open to men of good will who desired to serve god and be a part of his family."<sup>2</sup>

The rapid expansion of these groups was a response to the condition of men under Hellenistic civilization. They had been scattered to all parts of the Orient and detached from their ancestral and religious backgrounds, to say nothing of their divorce from national ties. New attachments beyond political, economic, and social boundaries were welcomed.

Simultaneously Hellenism established its ideal of society--a community of men liberated from attachments to a particular people or race, men whose supreme virtue was a spirit of philanthropy. The waning of ancient exclusivism may certainly be attributed in part to the expansion of the

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1. GE, 315.

2. Ibid.

mystery cults. Because of them the vision of humanity was broadened and the unity of mankind earned a more significant place in religion.

Yet, with what certainty can one say that all the activity of the mystery cults here described greatly influenced the Judaism of this time? "From the sociological point of view the Jewish synagogue and the mystery religion associations appear to be analogous formations by the individualist character of their group and the ideal of spiritual fraternity toward which they moved."<sup>1</sup> The mystery cults had, however, only prescribed such an ideal, and it was in the synagogue alone that it was manifest both in prayer and in the practice of the tôrâ. Although in this new institution one finds survivals of primitive practices, it was the ethic of the prophets and sages of Israel which predominated.

We have seen in this chapter how the more ancient magical and mystical elements of primitive religion tended to reduce in importance in the development of the religion of Israel. Although there was much syncretism and primitive naturism circulating among the mystery religions of the period under discussion, it was not until the Christian era that Judaism was greatly influenced by the mystical elements of such groups as the Essenes, Therapeutae, Baptists, and Jewish gnostics.

In spite of the universalism of Deutero-Isaiah and Jonah, and the rationalism of wisdom, Judaism remained in a sense a

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1. GE, 318.



race and a church. The synagogue was the rallying point of the society. Furthermore, Judaism remained attached to a past history, at least a mythological history. Yahweh the God of Israel was never completely denationalized, and Jerusalem remained the seat of holy activity and the unique sanctuary for the men of the law.<sup>1</sup>

The impact of Hellenism may not be minimized. It made its way into Palestine through a variety of channels. The Hellenism propagated by the Seleucids was not so penetrating, since it did not necessarily generate the values of humanism.<sup>2</sup> With the settlement of Greeks in Judah, the Shephelah, and beyond the Jordan, Judaism had to cling tenaciously to its tradition. Furthermore, Antiochus Ephiphanes forced the Hellenization of Jerusalem, which ultimately resulted in a revolt of the Hāsîdîm, and this culminated in the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty. The war, domination, and power of the Hasmoneans left a profound mark on Judaism's thought and history (I Maccabees).<sup>3</sup> The power and the hero of Holy War were exalted, and these emphases manifested themselves in military ambitions and a desire for the annihilation of the impious. There are echoes of these strains in Judith (16:20)<sup>4</sup> and the Book of Jubilees (31:18-20).<sup>5</sup>

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1. DI, 161-164.

2. J. Pedersen, "Scepticisme israélite," RHPR 10(1930) 338-344.

3. GE, 322.

4. GE, 323.

5. Ibid.

Israel's vision of humanity narrowed as she became more withdrawn into herself. Ancestral attachments were revived and the Holiness Code received fanatical attention. Wisdom lost its place as an independent discipline, although it is true that in the Egyptian diaspora the tradition of wisdom lingered somewhat longer and evoked in large measure a Jewish philosophical religion. Yet, in spite of Judaism's cloistered nature, even in the first century B.C., syncretistic elements continued to make their way into Judaism in the diaspora and also in Palestine. But the old humanist aspirations which had illuminated the vision of the prophets of the exile and the thought of the ancient sages were by no means ever fully compromised.<sup>1</sup>

The time had now become full for the coming of Jesus Christ who would make clear that in God's world there can be no distinction between Jew and Greek.

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1. GE, 325.



## CHAPTER FOUR

## ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF CAUSSE'S SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD

## Introduction

During the last years of the nineteenth century, when Causse received his theological education, and the first half of the twentieth century, when he became a prodigious writer in the field of Old Testament, there were numerous lines of development within Old Testament science.<sup>1</sup> The sociological approach was only one of many.

In 1889 W. Robertson Smith, the most influential of the early initiators of this method, published his celebrated Religion of the Semites. Aware of the binding relationship between religion and society, he pursued an investigation of ritual institutions at the basis of which one could discover the nature of primitive belief. Only by understanding the primitive form of such institutions was it possible to grasp their essence in a later stage. Biblical criticism, however, did not generally follow Smith's line of development. This cannot be divorced from the fact that the Wellhausen School, fostering a much too narrow view of historical and literary classification, was at first so bound to the framework of the canonical text that it had a very narrow view of the development of Old Testament religious history and did not consider Israel sufficiently in the milieu of

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1. Anthropological, sociological, religionsgeschichtlich, form-critical, archeological, and theological.

Oriental history as a whole.

The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule sought to fill this gap<sup>1</sup> by studying the syncretistic influences imposed on Israelite religion, most especially Babylonian, Egyptian, and Syrian.<sup>2</sup> However, the method employed all too often ended with organizing parallel texts and observing similar myths, traditions, and literary forms. These were judiciously compared, but too frequently without an adequate analysis of

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1. Particularly apparent in such critical introductions to the Old Testament of the Wellhausen School as: C. H. Cornill, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, (Freiburg: Mohr, 1891); English translation by G. H. Box, Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907); S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891); L. Gautier, Introduction à l'Ancien Testament, (Lausanne: Bridel, 1906; 2nd rev. ed. Paris: Fischbacher, 1914); G. B. Gray, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, (London: Duckworth, 1913); C. Steuernagel, Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament, (Tubingen: Mohr, 1912); W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament, (London: S. P. C. K., 1934); and in such critical histories of Old Testament religion of this school as: B. Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel I-II, (Berlin: Grote, 1887-88); R. Smend, Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte, (Freiburg: Mohr, 1893); K. Marti, Geschichte der israelitischen Religion, (Strassburg: Bull, 1897); K. Budde, Die Religion des Volkes Israel bis zur Verbannung, (Giessen: Ricker, 1900); English version: The Religion of Israel to the Exile, (New York: Putnam, 1899); J. Meinhold, Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte, (Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1903).

2. Cf. C. Niebuhr, Die Amarna-Zeit, (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899); J. Baikie, The Amarna Age, (London: Black, 1926); S. R. Driver, Modern Research as Illustrating The Bible, (London: Milford, 1909) 32-37; H. Winckler, Geschichte Israels I, (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1895); II (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1900); F. Delitzsch, Babel und Bibel, (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902); English version, (New York: Putnam, 1903); A. Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients, (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904).



their inner development.<sup>1</sup>

Old Testament science again turned to new horizons. It had not been enough to set up an evolutionary scheme of history, classifying literature, myths, and legends. Works began to appear dealing with the process of the religious life and its collective forms of expression.<sup>2</sup> They were largely the product of anthropology and sociology, but their influence was brought to bear on Old Testament studies by Hubert and Mauss,<sup>3</sup> and J. Frazer.<sup>4</sup> Numerous studies appeared attempting to disclose the primitive religious thought and forms of ancient Israel. Mowinckel explored the relationship of myth and ritual as well as that of tradition and cult;<sup>5</sup> Hubert and Mauss sought the nature and function of sacrifice;<sup>6</sup> Hölscher shed new light on the psychology of the prophets;<sup>7</sup>

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1. Exceptions: H. Gunkel, The Legends of Genesis, trans. by W. H. Carruth, (Chicago: Open Court, 1901); Gressmann, Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie.

2. Frazer, The Golden Bough; Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life; Lévy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality; How Natives Think, trans. by L. A. Claire, (New York: Knopf, 1925).

3. H. Hubert and M. Mauss, Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions, (Paris: Alcan, 1909).

4. J. Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament, (London: Macmillan, 1918).

5. Mowinckel, Psalmestudien II; Le Décalogue, (Paris: Alcan, 1927) 114-133.

6. Op. cit., 11-130.

7. G. Hölscher, Die Propheten, (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914) 1-158. Cf. T. H. Robinson, Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel, (New York: Scribner, 1923); J. Lindblom, Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur, (Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1924); H. Gunkel in the introd. to H. Schmidt's Die grossen Propheten und ihre Zeit, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915).

and Pedersen illuminated the primitive elements of the covenant, and blessing and curse.<sup>1</sup>

These scholarly contributions enormously influenced Causse in his conception of the primitive mentality of Israel.<sup>2</sup> Although he was deeply in their debt, he could not help but feel that the elucidation of the elementary forms and concepts was only one side of the coin. His interest was therefore drawn to the inner development and transition from lower to higher forms, or, as shall be seen in this chapter, from primitive mentality to civilized mentality, prelogical to logical thinking, collectivism to individualism.

The development of the study of the history of Israel's religion made rapid progress with the epoch-making work of Julius Wellhausen,<sup>3</sup> and it has been expressed in a variety of philosophical schemes.<sup>4</sup> Implicit in all of these has been some sort of evolution, be it eighteenth century naturalistic progressivism, Hegelianism, or the biological evolution of the nineteenth century. Needless to say, there are no infallible schemes, and their employment often has pushed many

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1. Pedersen, Israel I-II, 182-212, 263-310. Cf. Mowinkel, Psalmestudien III.

2. The contributions of Max Weber, e.g. Das Antike Judentum, Causse found provocative, but for his own area of exploration less decisive than French sociology.

3. J. Wellhausen, Geschichte Israels I, (Berlin: Reimer, 1878).

4. W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, (New York: Doubleday, 1957) 82-126. a) Hegelian divisions of Old Testament religion: animism (polydemonism), prophetic stage (henotheistic), nomistic (monotheistic); b) Positivism's stages of mentality: theological, metaphysical, positivistic or scientific.



scholars beyond the bounds of objectivity. Ernest Renan, whom Causse often quoted and whose work served largely as his literary model, is an example of positivism resulting in schematization at the expense of objective knowledge.

It is not our purpose here to give a comprehensive survey of the currents of philosophies of history, but to point to the increasing influence of ethnology and sociology in this century and analyze the method of Antonin Causse in the light of a sociological approach to the religion of Israel. The fields of ethnology and sociology were spear-headed in England by Robertson Smith<sup>1</sup> and Sir James Frazer.<sup>2</sup> Smith and Frazer both utilized a comparative religion method. The former employed Tylor's notion of animism in the history of Semitic religion, while the latter extended an anthropological method into practically every realm of ancient history and religion.

In Germany, Max Weber championed the cause of sociology and religion. His masterful work spans several volumes on historical sociology in which he scrutinizes the interaction of economic, social, and religious elements.<sup>3</sup> While each is dependent on the other, none is the direct function of the

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1. R. Smith, Religion of the Semites.

2. J. Frazer, The Golden Bough.

3. M. Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by T. Parsons, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1930); The Religion of China, trans. by H. H. Gerth, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951); The Religion of India, trans. by H. H. Gerth and D. Martindale, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1958); see works previously cited, Ancient Judaism; The Methodology of the Social Sciences; The Theory of Social and Economic Organization; Sociology of Religion.

other. Weber sought primarily the origin and basis of the capitalistic system in the West where economic philosophy was intimately bound up with the religious attitude in society. It was in ancient Judaism he found an analogous situation.

In Scandinavia, J. Pedersen's Israel ranks among outstanding contributions to the study of sociology and the religion of Israel. While he largely made use of the comparative religion method, he went far beyond the results of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and studied the significance and internal development of psychological notions and institutions in ancient Israel in the light of the evidence of primitive anthropology and sociology.

In France, ethnological and sociological study was epitomized in Emile Durkheim,<sup>1</sup> whose collectivism emphasized that the social group was the one independent element in history and sociology. All other phenomena of society are primarily societal functions. Hence he explained society from within. While environmental and psychological factors, both external, have some value, they do not provide the basis for a sound sociological analysis. The focal points of consideration for historian and sociologist alike must be social forces, consciousness, and forms. Durkheim's emphasis on collective mentality was a logical outgrowth of his signalling the central

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1. E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life; The Division of Labor in Society, trans. by G. Simpson, (New York: Macmillan, 1933); The Rules of Sociological Method, trans. by S. A. Solovay & J. H. Mueller, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1938); Suicide, trans. by J. A. Spaulding and G. Simpson, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951); Sociology and Philosophy, trans. by D. F. Pocock, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951).



independence of the social group.

The French social psychologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl provided a classification of human history<sup>1</sup> which was eventually to serve as a model for Gausse, and remains debatable until the present.<sup>2</sup>

1. L. Lévy-Bruhl, How Natives Think (Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures) trans. by L. A. Claire, (New York: Knopf, 1925); Primitive Mentality; The "Soul" of the Primitive; Primitives and the Supernatural (Le Surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive), trans. by L. A. Claire, (New York: Dutton, 1935); La Mythologie primitive, (Paris: Alcan, 1935); L'Expérience mystique et les symboles chez les primitifs, (Paris: Alcan, 1938).

2. For discussions of Lévy-Bruhl's theory and method by specialists in the field of sociology and anthropology see P. Radin, Social Anthropology, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1932) 13-15; The Method and Theory of Ethnology, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1933) 84, 258, 261; Primitive Man as Philosopher, 2nd revised edition, (New York: Appleton, 1958) 229f.; A. Goldenweiser, Anthropology, An Introduction to Primitive Culture, (New York: Crofts, 1946) 211, 321, 416, 417, 422; B. Malinowski, Magic, Science, and Religion, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1948) 8-9; J. J. Honigsmann, The World of Man, (New York: Harper, 1959) 664, 679. In spite of the criticisms levelled at Lévy-Bruhl's work (*infra*, pp. 204-213), its importance is still acknowledged, although it has probably had more of an impact upon what is today called anthropology. P. Radin said of Lévy-Bruhl's How Natives Think, "The work . . . is certainly one of the most brilliant in the whole range of ethnological literature and the lucid presentation of his two main contentions--the 'pre-logical mind' and the 'participation mystique' of primitive peoples--has led to an unusually sympathetic reception of his views. . . . [and] it deserves more than a passing treatment." Social Anthropology, 13. Radin is, of course, careful to point out what he considers to be the weaknesses of Lévy-Bruhl's approach. "Yet however negative be the attitude we may be compelled to take toward his analysis, to Lévy-Bruhl belongs the merit, paradoxically enough, of having envisaged the ethnological problems customarily dealt with in a way that is more likely to lead to a penetrative analysis of certain of the aspects of primitive mentality than did previous attempts. He has caught something of the psychological spirit of our time as the sympathetic reception accorded to his views by contemporary psychologists and sociologists attests." *Ibid.*, 15. For the impact of Lévy-Bruhl on Old Testament studies see B. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, (Naperville: Allenson, 1962) 28-30; W. F. Albright, History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964) 51-53, 66-67, 138, 142.

It was based on man's mental progress as reflected in his loftiest and religious achievements by contemporary analogies of primitive tribes and men of civilized countries. The development of this mentality may be summarized as follows:

| Period                                                            | Type of Mentality              | Characteristics                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1) Stone Age                                                      | Pre-logical                    | Corporative thinking                                           |
| 2) Between late third Millennium and the end of the sixth century | Empirical-logical <sup>1</sup> | Thought sanctions largely drawn from experience                |
| 3) Fifth century and after                                        | Logical                        | Formal canons of thinking; individualism replaces collectivism |

This summary is not meant to imply that one can exclude the possibility that any or all of these types of mentality can exist in any one given period. That is a definite possibility, since every age has its uneducated man who may function within the realm of prelogical mentality. It will be necessary later in this chapter to discuss Lévy-Bruhl's theory in more detail, and further elaboration and definition will be reserved until such a point.

It is essential in discussing the method of Antonin Causse to take account of the vast influence of Emile Durkheim and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl upon his method, though that of the latter may be considered much the greater. This shall be done shortly. But it is likewise at the outset imperative to correct a misleading view of Causse's work in relation to that of Max Weber.

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1. This type is the addition of Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 122.



H. F. Hahn after a brief discussion of the works of Adolphe Lods<sup>1</sup> and Antonin Causse<sup>2</sup> concludes, "These general works were the more important products of the fertilizing effect which Max Weber's theories had on the study of religious history."<sup>3</sup> This is, so far as Causse is concerned, largely an erroneous conclusion.

Causse apparently did not become acquainted with the work of Max Weber until about 1929.<sup>4</sup> While in Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse published in 1937, he makes some use of Weber's Das Antike Judentum, it is by no means the dominant force in content or method. In fact, Causse's first attempt at some outlines of the social history of the religion of Israel was in 1922, Les pauvres d'Israël; and this was only a year or so after Weber's Das Antike Judentum was published as a volume.<sup>5</sup> In the 1922 book Causse stated, "The social history of the religion of Israel has still not been formulated. The state of the biblical documents has

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1. A. Lods, Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century, trans. by S. H. Hooke, (New York: Knopf, 1932); The Prophets of Israel, trans. by S. H. Hooke, (New York: Dutton, 1937).

2. GE.

3. H. F. Hahn, Old Testament in Modern Research, (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1954) 170.

4. This was suggested to me by one of Causse's former students, Edmond Jacob, of the faculty of the University of Strasbourg, and is borne out in Causse's works.

5. Das Antike Judentum first appeared as a series of essays in the 1917-19 issues of Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialforschung and later published as vol. III of Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religions-soziologie, (Tübingen, 1921).

not permitted us to expose it in its totality. I have nevertheless attempted here to write a few necessarily fragmentary and incomplete chapters."<sup>1</sup> If he had been acquainted with Weber's essays, which although not a social history of Israel's religion were certainly the first great scholarly attempt at a history of Israelite society, it seems quite strange that he would not have mentioned them in connection with this statement. The first reference to Weber in his major works is not until 1929, in Les dispersés d'Israël.<sup>2</sup>

Even to assert the profound influence of Weber on Causse in the light of his most significant volume Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse is quite precarious. W. F. Albright, in attempting to tag Causse as largely positivistic and Hegelian, cites the author's frequent reference to Weber as evidence for the same.<sup>3</sup> While Albright's conclusion that there is a sizable neo-positive influence on the work just mentioned may be to some degree valid, this position cannot rest on Weber's influence who is in fact cited only three times in the 332 page volume. Certainly influence cannot be measured in frequency of citation, but this chapter will make clear that the dominating influence upon Causse and his method is French sociology.

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1. PI, 7.

2. DI, 49. Sometime between 1922 and 1929 it appears that Causse became aware of Weber's Das Antike Judentum.

3. "Direct philosophical influence on his [Causse's] work is most of neo-positive character (Frazer, Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl), and Max Weber, whom he often quotes, was as much of a positivist as he was Hegelian." W. F. Albright, "The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Israel," JBL 59(1940) 94, note 11.



Weber had maintained that the development of Israel's religion via the prophetic movement was the consequence of a crisis in the socio-economic development of the nation. The prophets rose in protest against a civilization that smothered Israel's original social system. Such a civilization was spawned by entrance into Canaan and the establishment of the monarchy. The new economic conditions--latifundia versus rural proletariat--undermined the ancient solidarity of Israel. Causse similarly maintained that the prophets' focal emphasis was on maintaining "their primitive culture and their patriarchal organization" though confronted by the imposing influences of Canaanite civilization.<sup>1</sup> Hahn asserts that "in making the prophets the spokesmen of this opposition to 'civilization,' Causse was following Max Weber."<sup>2</sup> It is clear that Causse reached this conclusion independently of Weber and long before he was familiar with his work on Israel. In Les pauvres d'Israël (1922) Causse observed the economic inequality created by the entrance into Canaan and the establishment of the monarchy. He elucidated the decadence of social rapport among the people and the varied social injustices, as well as the miseries of the disinherited plebians at the mercy of the latifundia.<sup>3</sup> It was this socio-economic crisis which precipitated the opposition of the prophets and their plea for social justice. Of course, the context of

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1. GE, 75. Cf. Les prophètes contre la civilisation, (Alençon: Coueslant, 1913).

2. Hahn, op. cit., 168.

3. PI, 50-51.

Weber's similar conclusion was somewhat different in that he was concerned with the origins of the capitalistic spirit and found in ancient Judaism an analogous situation to the Protestant West, where religion was largely influenced by economic life. He viewed with particular interest the tremendous influence prophetism had on the development of an ethical foundation for economic life. Causse, however, was endeavoring to view the impact of this socio-economic struggle from within the context of Old Testament religion and the Old Testament texts themselves. Hence, he saw its development resulting in a struggle between the 'anāwîm, dallîm, and the r<sup>ev</sup>sā'im. Thus a social question becomes a religious question, as is particularly seen in the conflict of the poor and the wicked in the Psalter.<sup>1</sup>

One cannot explain Causse's contribution to the sociology of Old Testament religion by a discipleship to Max Weber. Their goals were quite different. Weber sought to bear out his thesis that the religious attitude in society exercised a significant influence on economic philosophy. Causse, largely under the influence of the French school of sociology, attempted to show in ancient Israel the transition that was made from prelogical, primitive mentality, where religion was still little detached from magic, to the more evolved ethical, rational, and individualistic conceptions of Judaism.<sup>2</sup> It would, however, be misleading to say that Causse found little

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1. Ibid., 100. Of. GE, 243-257.

2. GE, 9.



profit in Weber's Das Antike Judentum.

He was of the opinion that Weber, though not an Old Testament scholar and dependent for critical opinion almost completely on the Wellhausen School, had nevertheless frequently caught sight better than many Old Testament scholars of certain aspects of the political circumstances and cultural traits of ancient Israelite society and of the environment in which Yahwism developed. However, Causse concluded,

"on the essential points he has not taken into account sufficiently the primitive structure of the mentality, of the social organization of Israel; on the other hand, in posing from the beginning the problem: 'Israel, outcast people among peoples,' he has transposed into distant antiquity the conditions of the development of Judaism at a more recent period. It is not a question of exposing in its entirety the sociological problem of the religion of Israel as one describes the formation of a Greek city. One can at least attempt to note the principal moments of this long development which, from primitive tribal elohism, from the religion founded on kinship and belonging to the ethnic group, led to the moralism of the prophets, the piety of the psalmists, and the humanism of the wise men; and which tends to affirm a new ideal of life and religious society founded on voluntary adhesion and personal union of the worshiper with God."<sup>1</sup>

It is unfortunate that Hahn did not take account of the profound influence of Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl<sup>2</sup> on Causse. If he had done so, he might have avoided the false conclusion that the latter's sociological approach was primarily in Weber's debt.

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1. Ibid., 9-10.

2. The influence of Lévy-Bruhl is found as early as 1922 in Causse's "Quelques remarques sur la psychologie des prophètes," RHPR 2(1922) 349-356.

Therefore, for an understanding of the method of Antonin Causse one must turn to the canons of French sociology for that which provided the essential structure of his approach to the history of Israel's religion. Yet, it is important to realize that while Causse employed largely a sociological method, he did not deny the validity of the Religionsgeschichtliche Methode of Gunkel, Gressmann, Mowinckel, and others. Furthermore, his works reflect a saturation of the works of literary criticism from Wellhausen to Hölscher.



PART ONE: THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH SOCIOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

The work of Emile Durkheim had a dynamic impact on the study of religion, as may be seen particularly in the writings of L. Lévy-Bruhl, Henri Berr, and Marcel Mauss.<sup>2</sup> The followers of Durkheim, who are too numerous to list, "believed that the study of religion must be based on the comparative history of religions, including preliterate ones."<sup>3</sup> It will be helpful

1. S. Kimball has noted that men such as H. Hubert, M. Mauss, and E. Durkheim (Lévy-Bruhl may be included) "Although labeled 'sociologists,' . . . showed little resemblance to their English and American colleagues, who were concerned with normative, evolutionary, or organic interpretations. The approach used by this group of French scholars places them in the tradition of what is today known as functional anthropology." Introduction to The Rites of Passage, vii.

2. All three edited a series of ethnological, sociological, and religio-historical essays: L. Lévy-Bruhl, ed. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, (Paris: Alcan, 1926); H. Berr, ed. L'Evolution de l'humanité, (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1934); H. Hubert and M. Mauss, Mélanges d'histoire de religion, (Paris: Alcan, 1909). It should be noted that Durkheim's admirers did not always agree with him; there were those who argued that religious ideas, customs, and institutions developed simultaneously and independently in all cultures, and others who claimed that they were diffused from culture to culture.

3. P. Honigsheim, "The Influence of Durkheim and His School on the study of Religion," Emile Durkheim, ed. by K. H. Wolff, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960) 236. Cf. E. Durkheim, Rules of Sociological Method. On the general impact of the Durkheim school cf. E. Benoit-Smullyan, "The Sociologism of Emile Durkheim and His School," An Introduction to the History of Sociology, ed. H. E. Barnes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948) 520-527; H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, Social Thought from Lore to Science II, (2nd ed.; Washington, D. C.: Harren, 1952) 839-850; J. Stoetzel, "Sociology in France," Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change, ed. H. Becker and A. Boskoff, (New York: Dryden, 1957) 630-646; P. Honigsheim and G. Eisermann, "Geschichte der Soziologie," Die Lehre von der Gesellschaft, ed. G. Eisermann, (Stuttgart: Enke, 1958). See also H. Alpert, Emile Durkheim and His Sociology, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961); I. Seger, Durkheim and His Critics on the Sociology of Religion, (New York: Columbia University, 1957).

to lift out those tenets of French sociological emphases, especially of Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl, which were particularly evident in Causse's discussion.<sup>1</sup>

1) Totemism: It is one of the most ancient forms of group life, wherein there is no differentiation between religious functions and others, and which is the cohesive element of society.<sup>2</sup> Inherent in this form is a collective belief in an impersonal power worshiped by the group and the coagulative force for the society.

2) Mystical Force (Magic): Magic is largely opposed to religious phenomena because of its individualist and anti-collectivist character.<sup>3</sup> Following Lévy-Bruhl, Causse did not make such a sharp distinction, maintaining that some cultures in fact demonstrated, especially Israelite, the telescoping of religion and magic. In Israel the mystical force which the individual utilized in magic was identical with that which the group collectively relied on in its religious rites.<sup>4</sup>

3) Prelogical Mentality:<sup>5</sup> This term was used by Lévy-

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1. The noteworthy contributions of the Durkheim school to the understanding of Chinese, Hindu, Celtic, and other religions have of necessity been excluded.

2. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.

3. Ibid., 42-47.

4. Lévy-Bruhl, How Natives Think, 323-358. A. Lods, Des prophètes à Jesus: Les prophètes d'Israël et les débuts du Judaïsme, (Paris: Le Renaissance du Livre, 1935) 58, 188.

5. Lévy-Bruhl, How Natives Think; Primitive Mentality; The "Soul" of the Primitive.



Bruhl to designate a particular kind of mentality characterized as a 'mystical' mode of thought. This is in opposition to Durkheim, Frazer, and Tylor who viewed mental functions as the same everywhere, and concurred that primitives simply misused them. Lévy-Bruhl did not feel that primitives merely reasoned poorly, rather, their thought patterns were different and an imposition of modern psychological categories would only confuse the issue. Certainly there was a common stock of mental characteristics, but all mental operation cannot be poured into one unique mold. May it not be considered poor reasoning, if primitives' mental patterns differed from ours? No! The social group formed the mental process in a different direction, hence the problem to be investigated is collective and sociological. One finds that the societies most characterized by lack of abstractions or conceptualization are largely those without writing.

4) Collective Representations: Characteristic of primitive mentality are collective representations which result from the attempt through corporate effort to grasp reality. Essential to them and distinguishing them from conceptualization is their mystical nature. Here Lévy-Bruhl does not mean to imply a religious mysticism in the modern sense, but that collective representations suppose "the belief in forces, influences, actions unperceivable to sense, but nevertheless real."<sup>1</sup> These representations do not result simply from

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1. J. Cazeneuve, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl sa vie, son oeuvre avec un exposé de sa philosophie, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963) 24.

association but are the integrating element. This differentiates them from superstition. Suffice it to say, there is no line separating the natural and supernatural, nor is there a distinction between individual and collective representations since the life of the primitive is entirely socialized.

5) Law of Participation: There is a principle operating in primitive mentality which does not require an abstinence from contradiction. This does not mean the primitives were opposed to non-contradiction but were simply indifferent to it. Hence, unity in relationships was not dependent on logic, and animate and inanimate beings could participate in mystical powers. The continuum of forces is called mana.

6) Occasionalist Concept of Causality: This is the result of the mystical character of collective representations-- "the action of the supernatural forces is given at the onset directly in their perception."<sup>1</sup> No activity is fortuitous for primitive mentality.

The types of religion designated by totemism, magic, and prelogical thinking exist both in preliterate and literate cultures. Furthermore, primitive mentality and civilized mentality cross boundaries of periods and cultures, and often find modern expression sometimes side by side.

Causse attempted to confront the elaborate categories in the French sociological system with the fundamental ideas presented in the texts of the Old Testament. He had no narrow view of the study of the religion of Israel, believing that

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1. Ibid., 29.



it must like all other religions be subjected to systematic sociological analysis. Yet, as early as 1908, he declared, "We must not forget that Yahwism and Christianity are unique appearances in history and one must not consider them as a vague obscurity in the ocean of Oriental religions."<sup>1</sup> And it was his own sociological survey some years later which was to elucidate this uniqueness, of the former at least, in a most clear fashion.

Before discussing Causse's implementation of French sociological theory upon the study of Old Testament religion, a brief summary of conclusions regarding the general impact of the French school on the study of religion is pertinent. Again our interest is particularly in the religion of Israel and that which directly bears upon Causse's work.

1) The Religio-Sociological Phenomena Surveyed by Causse, Largely an Outgrowth of Durkheimian Studies

- a) Totemism: influence of Durkheim, see above.
- b) Interrelation of Magic and Religion: influence of Durkheim, but following Lévy-Bruhl's alternative, see above.
- c) Cult: PCB, 79-134; GE, 236-276.
- d) Sect: A. Causse, "Les tendances de secte et la signification sociologique de la nouvelle piété," in GE, 236-276. Also on the sect as a group composed of persons coming from a particular social background, see C. A. Guignebert, Jésus, (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1938) 140-142, 145-158, 163, 400.
- e) Propaganda: Jewish propaganda of the Hellenistic period investigated by Causse, GE, 301-317; IVH, 129-149.

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1. EE, 6.

- f) Religious Leadership:<sup>1</sup> especially the prophets in their various forms and leadership, GE, 61-94, 95-113.

2) Emphases Which Specifically Represent Durkheim's Views

- a) Totemism
- b) Magic

3) Elaborations and Enlargements of Durkheim's Views

- a) Prelogical Thinking: Lévy-Bruhl
- b) Function of Prophets and Sects: Causse, Lods, Guignebert

4) Deviations From Durkheim's Views

- a) Prelogical Thinking: Lévy-Bruhl
- b) Interrelationship of Magic and Religion: Lévy-Bruhl, Causse, Lods

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1. It should be noted that in the field of French Old Testament scholarship Adolphe Lods also represents a sociological approach, especially to the study of the prophets. Following to a great extent Durkheim, he investigated the origins of the prophets who were professional diviners coming from a set social stratum and who received pay for their prophetic activity. Their states of ecstasy, in which they often performed magical acts with clairvoyant intent, were frequently produced by narcotics. They were adherents to the nomadic ideal--simple, rural life. Although the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries protested against much of the above, e.g. compensation, use of narcotics, they maintained the practice of magic. Cf. Des prophètes à Jésus, especially xii-xvi, 56-72, 88-153. Also, C. A. Guignebert, The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus, trans. by S. H. Hooke, (London: Paul, Trench, & Trubner, 1939) Book III, chap. 2; Jésus, Part II, chaps. 4 & 11.



PART TWO: THE APPLICATION OF FRENCH SOCIOLOGICAL  
THEORY BY CAUSSE<sup>1</sup>

From the outset of Causse's work one encounters the familiar system of the independent primitive legends of the clan centered on the notion of the totem. Herein the person does not conceive himself outside the group. This is, of course, characteristic of the early structure of Israelite society.<sup>2</sup> Here Causse has remained true to Durkheim at least so far as the ethnic group is concerned.<sup>3</sup> Solidarity characterized the early social structure of Israel and the individual was dependent upon the group. This solidarity was affirmed through the mystical bond of the b<sup>e</sup>rit.<sup>4</sup> In the resulting physio-psychic unity, activity and response share a common basis, since in prelogical mentality a mystical power operated on the group; and since the primitives made no distinction between natural and supernatural, no questions of cause and effect were raised.

In the period after the entrance into Canaan the economic structure of Israel radically changed, although the cult retained some of its primitive spontaneity. With the establishment of the monarchy the transition from the prelogical to the logical stage has not been made. Integral to

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1. GE is used as the primary source for this discussion.

2. Supra, pp. 72-74.

3. While Lévy-Bruhl would have agreed with this characteristic of the totem, he averred it was also a characteristic of primitive mentality. It is clear that he believed that in primitive mentality the individual did not separate himself from the nature to which he belonged; hence, he did not conceive himself outside the group.

4. Supra, p. 74.

the primitive mentality of this time is a mystical notion which is indispensable to the foundation of the monarchy; namely, the magical conception of the leader who embodies the life of the group and all the energies of the social organism.<sup>1</sup> At this time the Law of Participation is in operation. Things and beings participate in one another and form totalities which are perceived more in a qualitative than quantitative fashion, and it is difficult to separate the qualitative element from that to which it is attached. This is exemplified in the numbering of primitives, which for them embodies forms of qualitative distinction. When David ordered a census he was met with opposition by the people because he was violating a formidable taboo.<sup>2</sup> To count the people would be to separate the number from those numbered. "To be able to imagine the arithmetical series of whole numbers, in their regular order, starting from the unit, it (prelogical mentality) must have separated the number from that which the number totals," and that is precisely what prelogical mentality did not do.<sup>3</sup>

The monarchy precipitates the destruction of the solidarity of ancient Israel with its centralization of authority and cultic activity. Furthermore, it permits the widening of the gap between the latifundia and the rural proletariat, resulting in drastic domestic change. Primitive institutions

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1. Supra, p. 79. This is a magical notion which Lévy-Bruhl found prevalent among tribes of primitive mentality.

2. Supra, p. 81.

3. Lévy-Bruhl, How Natives Think, 192-193.



struggle to survive, such as the bavit and z<sup>e</sup>qēnîm. The former certainly loses its primitive force and the latter only leaves traces of its authority. There is progress toward a new social order and a superior religion and individualism begins to emerge.

The prophets arise to meet with sound opposition the injustices of the monarchical society. Causse reminds the biblical student that prophetism is not just one "block" of mentality. There are successive aspects of prophetic inspiration in the course of the evolution of prophecy. The difficulty in making assessments about early Hebrew prophecy is that the legends are often obscure as well as the fact that the traditions preserved by Israelite historiography are sparse. Here there is raised for Causse an essential problem of method. "Those who pretend to describe the mental states of the men of previous time in terms of contemporary psychology must consider that these states have been expressed in another language than ours and in another order of thought. One cannot apply the categories of our logic to primitive mentality without making some grave mistakes."<sup>1</sup> By accepting the theory of primitive mentality Causse saw the prophets as men, who, when they spoke of their inspiration, conceived it as men of their time would, as a mystical action of God on man, a divine possession. Thus prophecy supposes a primitive mentality. "The men of other times moved in a world of

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1. Causse, "Quelques remarques sur la psychologie des prophètes," RHPR 2(1922) 351.

myth and miracle in which the human and divine were mixed and one did not distinguish between the natural and supernatural."<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason Causse finds the medical diagnosis of Hölscher and Jacobi incongruent with the reformer prophets and their literature.<sup>2</sup> They tended to make ecstasy the fulcrum of the prophet's religious life. The prophets themselves may have attached much importance to this phenomenon of ecstasy which they inherited from their contemporaries, but it is no more than incidental.

Desiring a return to the ancient solidarity of Israel, including its family and tribal law, the prophets affirmed a nomadic ideal which for Causse was not mere romanticism of the desert, but maintenance of primitive culture and patriarchal organization. This trend was especially reflected in the prophecy of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. Causse noted within their critique of the monarchical culture certain habitual characteristics of primitive mystique, as for example the notion of the profanity of human grandeur (Isa. 2:12-17).<sup>3</sup> It is found particularly in cultic practices of the wars of Yahweh: purification of warriors and the camp, consultation of the oracle of Yahweh, the sacrifice of the king before battle, and the cursing of the enemy.<sup>4</sup> In these practices "we re-

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1. Ibid., 352.

2. Hölscher, Die Propheten, op. cit.; W. Jacobi, Die Extase der alttestamentlichen Propheten, (München: Bergmann, 1920); cf. H. Gunkel, Die Propheten, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917).

3. GE, 90.

4. Ibid.; supra, p. 103.



cognize the disposition of the primitive mind to regard, as actual and already accomplished, a future event which, for mystic reasons, seems to be certain. Since magic operations which are infallible have been performed, the enemy chief is conquered at this very moment."<sup>1</sup>

It is important to note that the uniqueness of the prophetic message is largely the assertion that Yahweh alone is Israel's hope of salvation, not rites or ceremonies of protection. Still this faith is developed within the framework of a pre-logical mentality. It is again the application of Lévy-Bruhl's theory which leads Causse to disagree in part with Weber's application of modern categories and judgments upon ancient Israelite prophecy. The most significant case in point is Weber's insistence on the "utopic tendency" of the political policies of the prophets. Reinhard Bendix summarized Weber's opinion on this aspect of the social orientation of the prophets in saying, "they engage in utopian fantasies that are saturated with the bloody images of Yahweh's heroic feasts."<sup>2</sup> Of Isaiah's political policy at the time of the Assyrian threat Weber commented, "Indeed Isaiah's steadfast prophecy that, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, God would not permit Jerusalem to fall into the hands of the Assyrian hordes, if only the Judean king remained firm, actually came to fulfillment by historical accident, thereby creating a permanent unshakeable foundation for the subse-

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1. Lévy-Bruhl, Primitive Mentality, 327.

2. R. Bendix, Max Weber, An Intellectual Portrait, (Garden City: Anchor, 1962) 231.

quent position of this god and prophets."<sup>1</sup> Was Isaiah's ideal utopian? He insisted on submitting to the vassalship of Assyria, the only reasonable attitude for a small nation. Was his hope in Yahweh's deliverance merely the affirmation of an ideal beyond the conditions and narrow limits of reality? Were the means of realizing this ideal of another order than that of the flesh? Weber saw in the faith of Isaiah the utopian declaration of the prestige of Yahweh who would bring about a happy ending if the people would only trust him.<sup>2</sup> In Jerusalem Yahweh's prestige "resulted obviously from the salvation from Sennacherib's siege which occurred under Hezekiah, in accordance with Isaiah's prophecy and against all probability."<sup>3</sup> Causse maintained that it is not a question here of a utopian faith, a reasonable political policy, or a utopian political policy. Operating within the structure of prelogical mentality the prophet's great preoccupation was the affirmation of mystical values. The use of the word "utopian" implies a conceptualization of a differentiation between reality and that which is beyond reality, a distinction absent from primitive mentality.

The prophetic efforts at recapturing Israel's ancient solidarity led to a transformation of mentality and primitive concepts of Israel.<sup>4</sup> The ancient solidarity was under-

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1. Weber, Sociology of Religion, 32.

2. Weber, Ancient Judaism, 246.

3. Ibid., 247.

4. Supra, pp. 104-105.



cut as individualism emerged, and a rationalizing of the cult was inevitable. Nonetheless, the tension between collectivism and individualism remained. With the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries the transition is being made from primitive collectivism to moral individualism, and primitive mentality is undermined by the personal and social emphases of that time. This stage would probably correspond to the latter part of Albright's empirical stage of logical thinking.<sup>1</sup>

In the pattern of Causse's development Deuteronomy brings us to the stage beyond prelogical and primitive mentality. Integral to primitive mentality is ancient mystic authority. In Deuteronomy this is passé. Now authority is not acknowledged and obeyed without serious reflection.<sup>2</sup> One encounters a new concept of the law and social institutions. The covenant is no longer a mystical contract, since it is rationalized and its magical elements and mythological background are of minor importance. It is now largely based on moral order. The parenetic nature of Deuteronomy reveals the covenant as heavily dependent on exhortations and demonstrations.

Blessing and cursing become, for the most part, detached from the primitive notion of producing magical activity. To be blessed one must keep the tôrâ; and Deuteronomy 26 calls the follower of Yahweh to reason and demonstrations growing out of a logical conception of the relationship of natural and moral life.

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1. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 122.

2. Supra, p. 113.

The emphasis Causse places on the written word in Deuteronomy is interesting in the light of his application of Lévy-Bruhl's theory. The latter had claimed that prelogical thinking was most characteristic of cultures without writing. Now Causse could not have maintained that up to the time of the transition to civilized or logical mentality there was no writing in Israel. It had a long tradition of literacy. Also, that would be far too extreme an application of theory and certainly far removed from what Lévy-Bruhl meant to say. There are indeed men in every culture and every age that do without writing and who are still able to accomplish some technical activities. One man may build a boat by precise plans, another by intuition--but both float. Just because two men accomplish the same end result, however, this does not mean they have arrived at it by the same mental process. Causse wishes only to say that the fixation of the written word in Deuteronomy was a symptomatic indication of new social conditions and the transformation from primitive mentality to civilized mentality in Israel.

Another indication of this transition is found in the Deuteronomic humanization of many primitive mystic elements of the milhāmôt Yahweh, such as the herem and the words of the priest before battle.<sup>1</sup>

In all the above Deuteronomic evidence Causse finds the prophetic influence in the transition from collectivism to individualism.

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1. Supra, p. 122.



Causse did go on to analyze the Priestly material and the Psalms from the sociological viewpoint. Though the concept of the b<sup>e</sup>rit was of extreme importance in P it by no means indicated a return to primitive mystique. The Psalms which may have been intended ultimately for cultic use, but which were frequently of individual origin, represented a new mystique wherein the worshiper need not submit to the destiny of the group, and primitive social collectivism was now left behind.

This very brief summary of the application of the method of the French sociological school, and especially Lévy-Bruhl, should give a clear view of what Causse attempted to do. The method must now be evaluated.

## PART THREE: EVALUATION OF METHOD

## A. STRUCTURAL CRITICISM:

## 1) Hegelian or Positivist?

To be sure any philosophy of history must to some degree involve an evolutionary approach, but broad classifications of historical phenomena are never fully adequate. It is here that W. F. Albright has taxed Causse heavily for sociological determinism which he termed essentially Hegelian.<sup>1</sup> He claims that

"Causse has unwittingly become even more Hegelian in some respects than Wellhausen. Following Durkheim, he makes the development of Israel's religion practically a function of its social evolution. Yahweh became god of Israel with the covenant that united the tribes. He became lord of the land and master of the monarchy. He became universal God with the destruction of the state and the emergence of the Diaspora. The evolution of the idea of God in Israel starts with a conception of the deity as the spirit of the tribe, apparently in very much the Durkheim sense, and ends with God as universal spirit (with strongly socialized definition of the term 'spirit'), a development which reminds one of Hegel."<sup>2</sup>

Albright further averred that it was Causse's rigid Wellhausenism which gave his work an Hegelian appearance, although the more direct influence on him was more of neopositivists such as Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl.

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1. W. F. Albright's review of GE in JBL 58(1939) 220.

2. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 94-95. Whether Causse meant as Albright implies that the idea of God changed with each stage of development is a doubtful conclusion, if by this one means that the idea of God is the direct function of society; and Albright seems all too eager to pass this off to making religion, in the Durkheim sense, simply a function of social evolution. As a matter of fact, one of Causse's earliest works, PIR has monotheism beginning with Elijah.



Causse protested being called an Hegelian by Albright in a personal letter to him in 1940.<sup>1</sup> This response was not without some justification. The employment of Lévy-Bruhl's theory did indeed give Causse's work the appearance of positivism and social determinism, although he has probably been just as misunderstood at this point as has Lévy-Bruhl. Causse never maintained that history follows a direct line. It embodies continual new beginnings, in which the triumph of heroes at one point often marks both victory and defeat. For example, he saw the prophetic ideal codified in Deuteronomy, but even with that Deuteronomy expressed even more the attachment to the past, illumined by the great figure of Moses; and the remarkable Jewish mind inaugurated one of its greatest historic manifestations.<sup>2</sup>

2) Is primitive--civilized mentality a justifiable theory for historical research?

The structural problem is not merely related to whether we can call Causse Hegelian or positivistic. Its roots lie much deeper in the structure of the concept of primitive mentality. Is it valid for historical investigation? This is the basic question raised by G. van der Leeuw.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Albright, "The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Israel," JBL 59(1940) 94.

2. Ch. Hauter, "In Memoriam Antonin Causse," RHPR 27(1947) 7.

3. G. van der Leeuw, "La structure de la mentalité primitive," RHPR 8(1928) 1-31, 149-161. Albright feels that Causse should have followed van der Leeuw's qualifications of Lévy-Bruhl's theory, but he too likes the "happy" term "prelogical." Recently Albright has expressed his preference for the term "proto-logical." History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism, 52.

In considering this question it must be remembered that Causse's purpose was not to present a complete picture of the mentality of ancient Israel, but to show certain moments in the evolution of that mentality. So often Lévy-Bruhl's structure of mentality was taken to mean two logics,<sup>1</sup> and one does not fully escape this impression in Causse's work. However, Lévy-Bruhl never intended this at all.<sup>2</sup> These were not two mentalities each unintelligible to the other. By prelogical he meant primarily a mentality which did not exclusively obey the laws of our logic. Only in this sense is it prelogical. The life of the primitive is entirely socialized, and prelogical and logical are coexistent in it. Causse, as well acquainted as he was with Lévy-Bruhl's work, must have realized this, but since he nowhere spelled out his own method his work leaves the impression of being somewhat chronologically stereotyped by the latter's theory.

Even if Lévy-Bruhl did intend the above careful explanation of prelogical, one of his most discriminating critics, G. van der Leeuw, felt that his helter-skelter citing of ill-sorted documents and a variety of peoples had not produced a convincing picture.<sup>3</sup> Some structural qualifications were

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1. R. Allier, Les non-civilisés et nous, (Paris: Payot, 1927).

2. Lévy-Bruhl, How Natives Think, 379-386.

3. van der Leeuw, op. cit.; cf. "A propos de récentes études sur la structure de la mentalité primitive," RHPR 8 (1928) 149-161; "La mentalité primitive et la religion," RHPR 15(1935) 485-494; Religion in Essence and Manifestation, trans. by J. E. Turner, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1938); L'homme primitif et la religion, (Paris: Alcan, 1940); Der mensch und die religion, (Basil: Verlag Haus, 1941).



necessary if the impression of a rectilinear evolution was to be avoided. Certainly there must be progressive steps, but how can one know when they occur? In his earliest works, How Natives Think, Primitive Mentality, and The "Soul" of the Primitive, Lévy-Bruhl claimed that such occurrence takes place when the cognitive element becomes detached from affective categories--when mystical perceptions lose their force and one becomes sensitive to contradictions. But he was not clearly understood even though he asserted that mystical mentality never completely disappears. The evolution is not continuous, for at the end of mental transitions and transformations there are sometimes stoppage and regressions.<sup>1</sup> As the writer understands Lévy-Bruhl, he never meant to posit a prelogism in which is represented a nonrational stage. But Causse gives the impression of such a structure in stressing the rationalism prevalent in Deuteronomy, although he never excludes rationalism from pre-Deuteronomic times.

Lévy-Bruhl's theory came under sharp criticism from such writers as Essertier, Bergson, Aldrich, Allier, and Larguier des Bancelles,<sup>2</sup> but his most constructive critic was van der Leeuw who has been mentioned.

It has been noted that Albright felt Causse should have

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1. For example, Causse's citation of the mystical elements in P. Supra, pp. 136-143.

2. D. Essertier, Les formes inférieures de l'explication, (Paris: Alcan, 1927); H. Bergson, Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion, (Paris: Alcan, 1932); C. R. Aldrich, The Primitive Mind, (London: Kegan, 1931); J. Larguier des Bancelles, Prelogique et civilisés, (Geneva: Archives de psychologie, 1926) 1-12; Allier, op. cit.

followed van der Leeuw's qualifications of Lévy-Bruhl's theory. What were they?

(1) The term "prelogical" is inexact and seems to imply an unjustifiable chronological order. He preferred the term "heterological."

(2) Lévy-Bruhl's "mystical associations" which imply the incomprehensibility of designated phenomena are misleading. "Primitive concepts are determined in a preponderant manner by affective reasons."<sup>1</sup> The element of imagination is not distinguished from reality and affectivity has not disappeared in primitive mentality. This category of affectivity embodies an area of some of man's most important spiritual needs.

(3) Primitive mentality is mythological in that primitive thought does not generate concepts but animates forms which man takes from his own life.<sup>2</sup>

(4) van der Leeuw's definition of primitive mentality: it is "formally asyntactic, prelogical, and submits to the law of participation; materially it appears to us dominated by affective elements, being magical on the one hand, and mythological on the other."<sup>3</sup>

(5) Our mentality is not isolated from primitive mentality and not necessarily considered as normative thought.

(6) One must leave aside the evolutionist method in the study of primitive mentality, and free from chronological com-

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1. van der Leeuw, "La structure de la mentalité primitive," RHPR 8(1928) 14.

2. Ibid., 20.

3. Ibid., 21.



plication examine the structure of our thought compared to the structure of primitive mentality. Primitive mentality is bound to no one period or culture but may be considered as a form, a structure of thought; however, this structure can be studied under a relatively pure form among noncivilized people.<sup>1</sup> By "structure" van der Leeuw means "the ensemble of the elements which form an organic unity, and in which each of the elements is related to the total. And we consider primitive mentality as a general structure, which embraces the same elements as our own mentalities (we possess several), but in a different grouping, though equally organic."<sup>2</sup>

(7) Man is "man" and this word can designate a diversity of mental structures. For ethnology, psychology, and history equality does not exist and when they speak of human things, it is essential that they designate what kind of humans are meant. "Man is always 'man;' he is infant, primitive, insane, poet or scholar; but there are in man diverse mental elements which unite in diverse combinations and which tend to produce some very different structures of mentality."<sup>3</sup> But the myth of the "rational" man along side a primitive man must be done away with.

(8) The "totality of primitive mentality"<sup>4</sup> is the key to

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1. Ibid., 27.

2. Ibid., 29.

3. van der Leeuw, "La mentalité primitive et la religion," RHPR 15(1935) 486.

4. Ibid., 490.

the significance of it for religion. Namely, the primitive does everything through religion: science, technical skills, art, birth, sickness, death--all these have their religious significance. "He lives in the total which, in his eyes, is only one process and from it come the phenomena that we call religious phenomena, but which in reality are only the forms of the entire life: magic and rites on the one hand, the myths on the other."<sup>1</sup>

It is tremendously interesting that many of these qualifications were completely accepted by Lévy-Bruhl before his death. Between his first 3 works: (a) Les fonctions mentales (1910; Eng. How Natives Think), (b) La mentalité primitive (1922; Eng. Primitive Mentality), (c) L'âme primitive (1927; Eng. The "Soul" of the Primitive), and the last three volumes: (d) Le surnatural et la nature (1931; Eng. Primitives and the Supernatural), (e) La mythologie primitive (1935), (f) L'Experience mystique (1938) there is a change in method, no doubt due largely to the considerable reflections, objections, and varied interpretations of his first three works in this series. It is significant that Causse utilized (a), (b), and (c) widely in Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse, but only (d) of the last three works, and that only slightly. His book was practically completed by the time of the appearance of (e) and already in print by the publication of (f). It is unfortunate that he could not have taken advantage of these last works for his method of development.

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1. Ibid.



In (d), (e), and (f) Lévy-Bruhl abandons his earlier random method of citation and centers on an ethnographic area.<sup>1</sup> He does not abandon his terminology<sup>2</sup>--mysticism, prelogical thought, participation, occasionalism--but the order of importance is now changed. The mythical now predominates over the prelogical and a new notion tends to prevail and explain all others. Namely, the human spirit is everywhere the same but prelogical attitudes permit contradictions.<sup>3</sup>

Impermeability in experience is now supplanted by a fusion between mystical experience and ordinary experience. Whereas he had claimed that primitives made no distinction between the natural and supernatural, he now said, "Although primitives can clearly differentiate things that appear supernatural from those that occur in the ordinary course of nature, they rarely imagine them as separate, for in them the 'sense of the impossible' is lacking."<sup>4</sup> Though they may distinguish between two worlds, they seem to confound them. Hence, nothing is fortuitous, since nothing is incompatible with experience in which visible realities and intervention of supernatural powers are interpenetrated. Although they may make the distinction, their experience often jumps from one to the other without transition. The prelogical character of mentality now becomes secondary to the mystical.

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1. However, in (f) he tends to revert to his earlier approach.
  2. Just as van der Leeuw did not.
  3. Lévy-Bruhl, Primitives and the Supernatural, 19-36.
  4. Ibid., 5.

This leads Lévy-Bruhl to heed van der Leeuw's plea for the use of affectivity in experience. "Emotion, feeling bring to the primitive the understanding of a reality other than that which is given by purely objectivizing experience."<sup>1</sup> Then the supernatural is of the affective category. Affectivity designates the common element in all mystical representations--the generality in them. To the primitive, perception did not depend on an intellectual act when it was affective, which embodied the special nuance attached to the interplay of the supernatural.

Affectivity comes into play indicating an intervention of supernatural powers when the unusual occurs, since the primitive feels unthreatened only in an unchangeable order. The supernatural is usually manifest spontaneously, often by chance and magic, dreams and visions. The mystical experience intervenes since the primitives cannot judge whether such an interruption is a good or an ill omen. In instances of chance and magic, dreams and visions they may distinguish between taboos of misfortune and reality, dream and the awakened life, but they do not put these outside reality as people today frequently do.

Lévy-Bruhl found it difficult to exclude completely the evolutionist method, but he did conclude that prelogical and logical mentality are prevalent in all human life. Therefore, he largely affirms the structuralist qualifications of van der

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1. Cazeneuve, op. cit., 40.



Leeuw.<sup>1</sup> In a posthumous volume, Carnets,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that Lévy-Bruhl saw primitive mentality as a permanent structure of the human mind, but it is greatly qualified by scientific thought, although it is most distinguishable among primitives without writing. With the introduction of the affective category it is certain that Lévy-Bruhl no longer meant to qualify primitive mentality in terms of particular characteristics. And in the Carnets he at last abandons the term "pre-logical"<sup>3</sup> and declares that "the logical structure of the human mind is the same everywhere." He no longer speaks of the primitive's indifference to contradictions, but rather of the incompatibilities.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, absence of conceptualization no longer suffices to describe primitive mentality, rather affectivity enjoys more importance than in our mentality.<sup>5</sup> Finally, primitive experience is both mystical and mythological.<sup>6</sup>

Only with these qualifications does the primitive--civilized mentality theory seem to provide a valid system of research. This does not mean that in general terms the broad evolutionary perspective is lost. It is inevitable; but it does suggest

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1. Cf. also E. Behier, "Originalité de Lévy-Bruhl," RP 139(1949) 385-388.

2. L. Lévy-Bruhl, Les carnets de Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

3. Ibid., 129.

4. Ibid., 164.

5. Ibid., 219-232, 167.

6. Ibid., 193f. and 233f.

that the internal development is much more complex than synthetic schemes often permit. "The most reasonable philosophy of history . . . is evolutionary and organismic. Evolution is not unilateral progress, it is more than a series of abrupt mutations; yet, like organic development, it falls into more or less definite forms, patterns, and configurations, each with its own complex body of characteristics."<sup>1</sup>

#### B. RESULTS OF STRUCTURAL CRITICISM AND CAUSSE'S METHOD

Why did Causse not follow van der Leeuw's cautions? The question is unanswerable. Possibly it was because as early as 1928 he was still uncertain about the validity of van der Leeuw's criticisms, for there were voluminous reactions of differing opinions from the claim of the non-existence of primitive mentality<sup>2</sup> to the argument of Allier that magic was the differentiating factor. Certainly Causse could not have taken into account the transformation of Lévy-Bruhl's thought in Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse.<sup>3</sup> The full impact of this was not apparent in Primitives and the Supernatural which Causse utilized. In fact, the enormous significance does not actually become clear until the Carnets (1949) published two years after Causse's death. As editor of the Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse, in which van

1. Albright, "The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Israel," JBL 59(1940) 97.

2. F. Boas, The Mind of Primitive Man, (New York: Macmillan, 1911, 1916, revised edition, 1948); F. C. Bartlett, Psychology and Primitive Culture, (Cambridge: University Press, 1923).

3. Supra, pp. 209-210.



der Leeuw's articles appeared,<sup>1</sup> he was no doubt aware of the importance of the structural criticism leveled at Lévy-Bruhl.

One may, therefore, ask with profit, What qualifications of Causse's method are necessitated by the results of structural criticism?

(1) Abandonment, or at least clarification, of the term "prelogical" in describing early Israelite mentality so as to avoid the appearance of chronological order. Causse tends to use prelogical and primitive mentality as though they are identical. Following Lévy-Bruhl's qualification of prelogical in which the mystical predominates over the prelogical and in which experience is permeable, Causse's position on prophecy comes into question. Adhering to Lévy-Bruhl's earlier position that in primitive mentality there was no distinction between the natural and supernatural, he concluded that the prophets conceived their inspiration as "men of their period" as a mystical action of God, for they were operating within a prelogical framework. He illustrates from:

Am. 7:15, "And the Lord took me from behind the flock."

Jer. 20:7,9, "You have duped me, O Lord, and I let myself be duped.

It is in my heart like a burning fire,  
shut up in my bones."

"Men of their period" implies a particular era of prelogical mentality. The point is not that Amos and Jeremiah jumped from the natural to supernatural without distinction. Rather, mystical experience and ordinary experience are fused

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1. It is obvious that Causse requested some of them, RHPR 15(1935) 485.

and that which seems "impossible" to the scientific mind proposed no problem to the prophets because of the predominance of the mystical. In other words, the problem of ecstasy and prophecy cannot be dismissed as easily as Causse would like by the application of the term "prelogical."

It is here that heeding van der Leeuw's suggestion of affectivity, later accepted by Lévy-Bruhl, would have been a valuable corrective for Causse. Reality is thrust upon the prophet through feeling and emotion, which are related to the supernatural category, and these may bring illumination quite distinct from that arrived at by objectivity. However, one does not necessarily exclude the other. That which is somewhat different among the prophets is that they were not dependent on objective experience for the comprehension of reality. Thus the supernatural is not placed outside the realm of reality.

In connection with the prophets one might mention Causse's claim that the prophets in their goal to recapture Israel's ancient solidarity led to a transformation of the mentality and the concept of Israel. Primarily he means the rise of individualism. It is more a question of a change in the structure of mentality than in a change from one mentality to another--prelogical to logical. This is not to imply that Causse intended such a radical and abrupt change, but his work leaves such an impression.

(2) Abandonment of the qualification of primitive mentality in terms of particular characteristics. The introduction of the affective category necessitates this adjustment.



Causse indeed gives the impression that primitive mentality is a particular mental disposition which can be delineated by the identification of primitive mystique. He goes through the Old Testament picking out the mystical and mythological elements which must obviously have their roots in primitive mentality. Thus he finds such evidence in the mystical foundation of the covenant and the monarchy, mystical rites of Holy War, e.g. purification and cursing the enemy. But it is not because Israelite mentality functioned prelogically, making no distinction between the real and unreal, that the mystical and mythological elements predominated. Indeed both the latter are themselves dominated by the principle of affectivity. Thus transitions in the structure of Israelite mentality may not be as clear cut as Causse sometimes makes it appear.

Only with the above qualifications can the impression be avoided that Israel's "rational" man has arrived by the time of Deuteronomy.

(3) Acceptance of the "totality of primitive mentality."

The major question here is, Did Israel in any period of her history consistently share a prelogical mentality?

Causse attempted to point out aspects of the development of Israelite mentality showing the difference between primitive and civilized mentality. It can be agreed that there are elements in the Old Testament which show a definite similarity to the categories of mental structure which French sociologists have found among primitives. There are, however, "important

dislocations which Israel has effected in the pattern of pre-logical thinking."<sup>1</sup>

In Old Testament religion everything in life seems to have its religious significance. The concept of "totality" is a generality for primitives, but one may go a step beyond it so far as Israel is concerned. Everything not only had its religious importance but Israel's sense of history, wherein history is considered as the manifestation of the action of Yahweh, breaks the prelogical pattern. "The focus of biblical man's attention therefore, was not on the cycle of nature, but on what God had done, was doing and was yet to do according to his declared intention."<sup>2</sup> Yahweh through the dimension of history acts and controls. From Causse's analysis one gathers that this faith is affirmed within a logical framework only in Deuteronomy,<sup>3</sup> although he does admit it derives from a prophetic motif (see Isa. 10:7f.).

However, Israel's view of history goes back long before Deuteronomy and even before the prophets. Ex. 15:21b

"Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously;  
the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea."

Here is probably the oldest hymnic fragment relating the miracle of deliverance from Egypt. It may be as early as the

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1. B. S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, (Nashville: Allenson, 1962) 29.

2. G. E. Wright, God Who Acts, (London: SCM, 1962) 25.

3. GE, 131f.



premonarchical period.<sup>1</sup> There is expressed here some kind of understanding of the external control of worldly events and such activity has its distinctiveness. Jdgs. 5, which Causse dates about the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the eleventh,<sup>2</sup> reflects the same sentiment. It is interesting that he considered Ex. 15, the great hymn 15:1-19 being no later than the ninth century,<sup>3</sup> and Jdgs. 5 as exemplary of the mystical elements of primitive mentality while ignoring the importance of historical event, which in the writer's opinion breaks the prelogical pattern.

The biblical material simply does not confirm Causse's application of the prelogical theory wherein there is in Israel before the development of civilized mentality, a mentality in which the supernatural and the natural were undelineated and men jumped from one to the other without distinction. The men of the Old Testament seem keenly aware of the activity of God in controlling the external world. They appear to have had prelogical attitudes which sometimes permitted the possibility of impossibility, but beyond that it seems dangerous to venture. James Barr states "that the importance of history in the Israelite mind was the greatest factor in enforcing the differences from the mythological environment."<sup>4</sup> He is

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1. PQB, 15; also M. Rozelaar, "The Song of the Sea," VT 2(1952) 226. M. Noth finds no conclusive argument for assigning it to J. Exodus, trans. by J. S. Bowden, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 121.

2. Its earliest elements.

3. Rozelaar suggests the seventh or sixth century at the latest, loc. cit.

4. J. Barr, "The Meaning of 'Mythology' in Relation to the Old Testament," VT 9(1959) 8.

using "mythological" in the sense of the maintenance of "a secret correspondence or hidden harmony of some kind between gods and man, gods and nature, man and nature, the normative primeval and the actual present."<sup>1</sup> This correspondence is included in Lévy-Bruhl's characteristics of prelogical mentality in which Causse concurred. But it was precisely this correspondence which was shattered in Israel,<sup>2</sup> because of its concept of history which had at its heart the dynamic activity of Yahweh.

(4) Reevaluation of the Wellhausen scheme as the structure for the sociological problem of the religion of Israel.

Causse was not a "pure" Wellhausian, for he differed at many points of interpretation. Nevertheless, he did accept the broad lines of the documentary theory of JEDP and used these as a basic guide line for his sociological and literary analysis. It is for this reason that much of his work has a much too rigid evolutionist appearance. His division of Old Testament religion appeared to closely follow the pattern: animism (polydemonism), the prophetic stage (henotheism), the nomistic stage (montheism); and that of Hebrew literature: early poetry, prophetic writings, legal codes.

However, the outline of Wellhausen, which must itself always be qualified as only an hypothesis, may not be the primary source of the rigid chronological appearance.<sup>3</sup> It

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1. Ibid., 5-6.

2. Ibid., 7.

3. Albright so claimed in From the Stone Age to Christianity, 88.



is more a question of the lack of integration of Israel's view of history with the development of her history; and there is also involved the problem of imposing a time sequence on a transition from primitive to civilized mentality. The JEDP scheme, which itself implies a literary chronology, may not be considered as a chronology for Israelite mentality beyond the qualifications which we have laid out above.

### C. CAUSSE, INDIVIDUALISM, AND THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

Causse most certainly claimed that the decisive moment in the evolution of Old Testament religion was the appearance of the personal element in relationships between God and the faithful community. This transition from primitive collectivism to moral individualism was made possible by the prophets.<sup>1</sup>

H. F. Hahn has maintained,

"This emphasis on the element of individual piety as the end-product of Israel's long religious development was essentially a Protestant interpretation. It was not directly concerned with providing an explanation of the ultimate sources of the Protestant ethic, as Max Weber's study had been; but its unconscious tendency to make paramount the very aspect of Old Testament religion which became the chief element in the Protestant tradition made this sociological interpretation seem equally significant."<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately Hahn's apparent lack of knowledge of the main motivating force, French sociology, behind Causse's work has led him astray. While he does not attribute this "individualism" directly to Weber's influence, he seems to wish to leave us with the impression that there is at least

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1. GE, 110, 112.

2. Hahn, op. cit., 169-170.

a vague connection. However, there is probably none at all.

Causse's emphasis on the Old Testament transition to individualism was the natural outgrowth of the sociological theory he employed. He followed Lévy-Bruhl's pattern--pre-logical thinking begins in the Stone Age and continues until about the sixth or fifth century B.C. when logical thought begins to take form, especially in Greece. This latter stage corresponds roughly to that of Deuteronomy in the Old Testament. Implicit in this scheme is that concurrently the individual begins to be formally recognized in literature and religion, and the ethical teaching of personal responsibility is introduced. Individualism tends to replace collectivism. Here is the source of Causse's emphasis on individualism. Although his Protestantism cannot be divorced from his biblical interpretation, it seems to be a basic misunderstanding of his theory and method to attribute this aspect of his work to an "essentially Protestant interpretation."

Hahn further implies that Causse's exaltation of individualism may be at least an indirect cause for his overlooking an important aspect of the heritage of prophetic teaching, when he "left out of consideration the solidarity of post-exilic Judaism and the strong sense of community feeling which has characterized the religion of the Jewish people down to the present time."<sup>1</sup> Did Causse actually do this? Hahn is either unaware of, or refuses to cite, Les dispersés d'Israël where Causse makes clear that there is a new solidarity in

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1. Ibid.



this period (post-exilic): "the law is the bond of the religious community,"<sup>1</sup> and he illustrates this solidarity by the description of the fraternal life of Jewish communities described in the Book of Tobit, 4:6-9, 16, 17. Individualism was not incompatible with ritual institutions and the organization of the religious community, since the tôrâ was seen as the means of propagating the personal presence of Yahweh in the presence of his worshipers. Naturally the element of formalization ultimately led to first century Pharisaism.

#### D. CAUSSE AND THE BIBLICAL TEXT

Rarely in Causse's works and articles is there found a detailed analysis of the Hebrew text. The one exception is Les plus vieux chants de la Bible in which there is a lengthy and careful discussion of the text of the Song of Deborah. Of course, his writings usually reflect a cautious scrutiny of the Hebrew text. Hence, his translations are often fresh and flow with the eloquent elegance so characteristic of French poetry and prose.

Causse seems to have relied largely upon the validity of the Hebrew text as is (Massoretic), resorting to emendation and adjustment only when no intelligible translation appeared possible. He did not make wide use of comparative philological data, although his use of comparative texts from other Oriental languages is profuse. For the latter he usually used translations of specialists in particular fields demanded

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1. DI, 122.

for the various languages.

Because of his approach to the sociological development of the religion of Israel, Causse sometimes imposed a scheme on the text which was at some points misleading. Namely, by seeking to establish the characteristics of Israelite primitive mentality, he looked for passages where mystical and magical elements predominated. He was usually quite careful to trace the primitive elements as close to their origin as possible, ever mindful of the long established oral tradition that might lie behind a notion, custom, or tradition. In this way he averted doing violence to the text itself, simply by pinpointing texts with primitive elements and calling them exemplary of primitive mentality. Nonetheless, he did hazard the difficulty of imposing a synthesis which tended to leave the impression that these were in fact distinguishing aspects of primitive mentality prior to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. However, this was more a problem of method than it was a textual one, and by and large Causse cautiously studied origins, form, and content and noted with clarity the difficulties of assigning particular texts to specific periods because of certain themes or linguistic characteristics. For this reason his selection of sources to illustrate the relationship of Israelite religion and society was usually well chosen. For example, for a discussion of the early social organization of Israel he used the Song of Deborah, the blessings of Moses and Jacob, and the older sections of Judges and Samuel.



### Conclusion

In spite of the problems of method involved with the application of Lévy-Bruhl's system, Causse's work, especially Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse, must be hailed as monumental.<sup>1</sup> He was the first competent Old Testament scholar to present a broad synthesis of Israel's social evolution drawing upon Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Pedersen, Weber, and Frazer.

While Causse might have been advised to follow van der Leeuw's structural criticism, his analysis still supplies some important correctives to Weber's sometimes much too modern appearance of analysis. Aware of the perils of attempts at historical synthesis, something for which he taxed Weber,<sup>2</sup> he knew that he could not avoid the difficulty of omitting aspects of historical development which to some critics would be essential. His 1937 volume did lead to the criticism of embodying a sociological determinism because of his failure to classify forces and phenomena according to their nature instead of treating them as functions of other forces and phenomena.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Causse has reminded us of the correlation between religions and social phenomena in ancient Israel, even if it is not always consistent.

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1. H. G. May believes that GE should take a position along side the works of Pedersen and Lods. Review of GE, JR 19(1939) 248. Albright states that GE should be studied by all Old Testament scholars, especially Part III, "Le problème sociologique du judaïsme," Review of GE, 221.

2. GE, 9.

3. Albright, Review of GE, 220.

Causse has demonstrated as no other Old Testament scholar the passage from the solidarity of ancient Israel based on the ethnic group, to the solidarity of Judaism based on the tôrâ. He has shed light on the inner development of this evolution from the rupture of culture and religion upon establishment in Palestine to the voluntary adhesion of religious societies in post-exilic Palestine.

Just as scholars will continue to assess Lévy-Bruhl's theory of primitive mentality, they must reckon with Causse's work, along with Max Weber's, as one of the most outstanding examples of a sociological approach to Old Testament religion.



## CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPORTANCE OF CAUSSE'S CONTRIBUTION TO  
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

It has been noted in the preceding chapter<sup>1</sup> that in H. G. May's opinion Causse's Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse should take a place along side the works of Pedersen and Lods, and that W. F. Albright claims it should be read by all Old Testament scholars. In the writer's view these opinions appear to be valid. The valuable contributions of Causse to Old Testament studies support this position. Causse's importance, however, lies not so much in the area of specialized studies as in the over-all perspective he brought to Old Testament history and religion. A brief summary of the primary elements of his perspective follows.

(1) Old Testament religion is not merely a group of ideas about God, humanity, and nature, and their manner of expression. Israelite thought is a part of the organic whole of Israel's history. The development of its thought has, of course, many facets and complexities.

(2) The growth from an ethnic group to a religious community involved a blending of political and religious ideals. The polarities in this evolution are reflected in the tension between nomadic life and sedentary existence, prophetism and civilized progress, collectivism and individualism.

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1. Supra, p. 224, note 1.

(3) The development of Israel's mentality embodies the association of religious ideas with historical events and personalities. Hence, the sociological context of Israel's life is infinitely bound to the plane of ideas.

(4) An understanding of Old Testament religious history requires the delineation of the struggle and tension, politically, economically, socially, and religiously involved in the long path leading from nationalistic ethnicism to humanism.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Through the careful analysis of socio-psychological elements coupled with an understanding of environmental forces,<sup>2</sup> a view of Israelite history is presented which reveals both the inner ideal of the people and the sum total of the external forces brought to bear on Israel as a nation among nations.

(6) Old Testament literature, thought, and history are studied with a view to their interrelationships and integral connection to culture and society. To study one apart from the other produces static results.

(7) Causse was the first competent Old Testament scholar to present a broad synthesis of Israel's social evolution drawing upon Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, Pedersen, Weber, and Frazer.

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1. This viewpoint makes Causse's work pertinent for Jewish scholars currently involved in the discussion of ethnicism and nationalism in Judaism today, especially in evaluating Zionism, for the national ideal of Israel is designated as oscillating between the two poles of ethnicism and humanism.

2. Causse does not abuse the comparative religion method, but employs it with discrimination, showing the questions raised by parallel texts and thought, but cautious about making sweeping generalizations on the basis of them.



The historical synthesis which Causse produced was born before its time. It is only in recent years with the revival of historical consciousness that Old Testament scholars have pursued an integrating approach which embodied an organic view of literature, thought, and history. No longer can one study Israel's literature apart from its thought and history, or thought apart from history and literature, etc.

In spite of the value of Causse's contributions, there can be no doubt that his works are rarely cited in Old Testament research today. What can explain the slight influence of such significant scholarship? At best only some proposals, which must be considered as suggestive rather than conclusive, can be made in response to this question. The meager effect of Causse's research may have been the result of (1) the overpowering influence of Max Weber's Ancient Judaism<sup>1</sup> as the most significant sociological analysis of Old Testament history and religion; (2) the transitional time at which Causse went to the University of Strasbourg; (3) the overpowering influence of Old Testament theology from about 1920 to the present. These proposals will now be explored in order.

(1) In chapter four the notion that Causse's sociological approach was the result of the fertilizing effects of Max Weber was dispelled.<sup>2</sup> However, in seeking to establish Causse's place in Old Testament studies, it would be wrong to assume

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1. This volume had preempted the field because of Weber's reputation as a brilliant sociologist.

2. Supra, pp. 181-186.

that the importance of Weber's Ancient Judaism has been over-emphasized by Old Testament scholars who have consciously minimized the work of Causse. Such an assumption would probably not be an adequate appraisal of the scholarly contribution of either man. It must be remembered that Weber became a world renowned sociologist whose works have been translated into many languages, and they are still read widely by college, university, and seminary students and professors. Since he produced such astute sociological research, his Ancient Judaism had a natural avenue of widespread distribution in both the religious and secular community. Furthermore, it was in this volume that he found the key to much of his research, in so far as he sought to explain the intimacy of religion and economy in capitalism. Weber was a pioneer in the science of sociology in Germany, as was Durkheim in France.

While Weber was a sociologist who delved into Old Testament studies, Causse was an Old Testament scholar who delved into sociological studies. Unlike the pioneering aspects of Weber's research which belonged to the beginnings of the science of sociology, Causse's works belonged to a long established discipline whose achievements heavily determined the course of his research. Although Causse's sociological analysis of Old Testament history and religion is, in the writer's opinion, more extensive and significant than Weber's, the fact remains it is practically unknown today, especially in the English speaking world. None of his works has been translated into any language. Causse's anonymity may well



be the result of the circumstances of the times in which he lived. Weber's research became well known because of the rapid growth of the science of sociology and his valuable contributions to it. The studies of Causse, however, have remained little known outside France, because the uniqueness of his sociological approach has not been fully realized up to the present, and because his work often appeared too dependent on Wellhausen and the History of Religions School.

(2) The time at which Causse came to the University of Strasbourg, 1919, was one of transition. After World War I Alsace again became French. In taking over the University it was decided by governmental authorities to retain the German system allowing the theological faculty to remain a part of the government salaried institution. Strasbourg remains today the only university of this kind in France. The position of Causse as a Protestant minister, even though he was a professor, paid by the government, may not have been a very popular one a few short years after the 1905 separation of church and state in France.

At the University of Strasbourg there is a gap of some twenty-eight years between Reuss and Causse. During this period the significant happenings in Old Testament research were taking place at l'École biblique where Père Lagrange was leading a reformation in French Roman Catholic biblical criticism. Between Reuss and Causse there was no important contribution to Old Testament science at Strasbourg.

Practically speaking Causse was Reuss's successor; tech-

nically he was not, since the chair to which he was appointed in 1919 was created with the establishment of the French University. Causse moved into a strong tradition of Old Testament studies, but a tradition which had lain fallow for almost thirty years. When he arrived at the University at the age of forty-two, he was already an experienced writer<sup>1</sup> but had done little teaching. Since he was beginning in a new field, it was necessary to establish a reputation as an important Strasbourg scholar and teacher. Therefore, there was little chance to rally rapidly a school of disciples around him. Furthermore, his publications prior to assuming the teaching duties at Strasbourg had presented no particularly original lines of development in biblical criticism.

It was about the time of his appointment to the theological faculty that he came under the influence of French sociology. His twenty-one years of teaching at Strasbourg from 1919-1940 and five years at Clermont-Ferrand from 1940-1945 where the University conducted courses during the Second World War were dedicated to the sociological analysis of the religion of Israel.

(3) During these years (1920-1940) Old Testament theology enjoyed a resurgence of interest, with such men as Steuer-

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1. Three volumes were in print, SP, EE, and PIR.



nagel, Kittel, Eissfeldt, Sellin, and Eichrodt.<sup>1</sup> The overpowering influence of Old Testament theology at this time may

1. C. Steuernagel, "Alttestamentliche Theologie und alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte," ZAW, Beiheft 41 (Marti-festschrift), 1925, 266-273; R. Kittel, "Die Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," ZAW, 39(1921) 84-99; O. Eissfeldt, "Israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte und alttestamentliche Theologie," ZAW, 44(1926) 1-12; W. Eichrodt, "Hat die alttestamentliche Theologie noch selbständige Bedeutung innerhalb der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," ZAW 47(1929) 83-91; Théologie des Anciens Testaments, I-III, (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933-1939); E. Sellin, Alttestamentliche Theologie auf religionsgeschichtlicher Grundlage, I-II, (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1933).

During the years of the revival of Old Testament theology, Causse was soliciting from outstanding scholars studies in religious sociology and Old Testament sociological investigations for publication in RHPR. Those which appeared in the periodical in addition to his own articles included such subjects as:

(a) primitive mentality and primitive religion; G. van der Leeuw, "La structure de la mentalité primitive," 8(1928) 1-31; "A propos de récentes études sur la structure de la mentalité primitive," 8(1928) 149-161; "La mentalité primitive et la religion," 15(1935) 485-494; "Phénoménologie de l'âme," 10(1930) 1-21; M. P. Nilsson, "Existe-il une conception primitive de l'âme?" 10(1930) 113-125; A. Krelinger, "La religion et la magie chez les peuples primitifs," 3(1923) 493-511;

(b) the solidarity of the family and clan in the ancient legislation of Israel; P. Ducros, "De la vendetta à la loi du talion," 6(1926) 350-365;

(c) the origins of sacrifice; A. Lods, "Examen de quelques hypothèses modernes sur les origines du sacrifice," 1(1921) 483-506;

(d) the feasts of ancient sanctuaries and the origins of the Decalogue; S. Mowinkel, "L'origine des Décalogue," 6(1926) 409-433, 501-525;

(e) the religion of the monarchy in ancient Israel and the people of the Mediterranean Orient; A. Lods, "La divinisation, du roi dans l'Orient méditerranéen et ses répercussions dans l'ancien Israël," 10(1930) 210-221;

(f) the reaction of the prophets against Canaanite culture and royal civilization; P. Humbert, "Osée le prophète bédouin," 1(1921) 97-118;

(g) the crisis of the notion of the covenant among the prophets and in the Deuteronomic Reform; the origins of the Jewish church; S. Cook, "L'arrière-plan historique de l'Ancien Testament," 9(1929) 295-318; G. Hölscher, "Les origines de la communauté juive à l'époque perse," 6(1926) 105-126.

have contributed to the meager effect of Causse's research. The background of the trend<sup>1</sup> is important for the evaluation of this suggestion.

The rise of historical criticism had widened the horizons of Old Testament studies, and a new view of the history of religions resulted. They were brought face to face with reality and fact. They were seen as an integral part of the development of history and were subject to the laws of historical evolution. "The religions in their manifold appearances and historical dynamics were the content of what is called 'history of religions.'"<sup>2</sup> Gabler's view that biblical theology should be understood as a historical science<sup>3</sup> received a hard blow from the newly developing History of Religions School in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Old Testament scholars who were disciples of this school argued that the history of the religion of Israel had priority over the "theology" of the Old Testament.<sup>4</sup> Studies which proceeded from this viewpoint were on the whole neglectful of any authoritative aspect of the Bible,<sup>5</sup> but the achievements in the study of historical, literary, and institutional evolution provided a sound basis for further lines of research in understanding

1. R. C. Dentan, Preface to Old Testament Theology, (New York: Seabury, 1963) 61-71; C. T. Fritsch, "Biblical Typology: New Trends in Old Testament Theology," BS 103(1946) 293-305.

2. C. Westermann, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament," in Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics, ed. by C. Westermann, (Richmond: John Knox, 1963) 42.

3. J. P. Gabler, Oratio de iusto discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus, (An inaugural address at Altdorf in 1787). See his Opuscula Academica, II, (Ulm, 1831).

4. Dentan, loc. cit., 50-57.

5. Westermann, loc. cit., 43.



Israel's religion. It should be remembered that the Strasbourg School stood in the main stream of the History of Religions School.

Questions ignored by the History of Religions movement were destined to be raised. "Are we historians of religion actually dealing with something that gives us life and is worth dying for? How is our own God, that is, our own faith, related to this history of religions?"<sup>1</sup> In 1921 Rudolf Kittel posed in essence these questions in his article, "Die Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," and in 1925 C. Steuernagel did likewise in "Alttestamentliche Theologie und Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte." Slowly the pendulum began to swing away from the History of Religions School toward theological studies. However, "there came a long period of transition during which no basic solutions were produced."<sup>2</sup> In France there was no monumental contribution to Old Testament theology from Piepenbring (1886) to Jacob (1955)<sup>3</sup> and in Germany from Schultz (1869) to Eichrodt (1933) and Sellin (1933).<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Piepenbring, op. cit.; E. Jacob, Théologie de l'Ancien Testament, (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestle, 1955); Eng. trans. by A. W. Heathcote & P. J. Allcock, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1958).

4. H. Schultz, Alttestamentliche Theologie, (5th ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1896, 1st ed. 1869); Eng. trans. by J. A. Paterson, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892); Eichrodt, op. cit.; E. Sellin, Alttestamentliche Theologie auf ihrer vorchristlichen Entwicklungsstufe, (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1933). E. König's Theologie des Alten Testament, (Stuttgart: Belser, 1922) is not representative of the new interest in Old Testament theology because of his insistence on the sole validity of historical-grammatical principles. See Dentan, op. cit., 62. J. Hänel's Die Religion der Heiligkeit, (Gütersloh: O. Bertelsmann, 1931) was essentially a phenomenological study focussed on the concept of holiness.

During this transitional period Antonin Causse did most of his writing. The years 1921-1935 mark his most productive period. He did not address his biblical studies to the theological problems of the day, nor to the relationship of faith and history. Here may be one clue to his present anonymity. It is possible that since he did not follow the lines of theological study that were being formed in Old Testament research, his works appeared to be of less importance. If this was the case, it was an unfortunate judgment in the light of Causse's keen and comprehensive research, originality, and beautiful literary style.<sup>1</sup> He had, however, followed the broad lines of Wellhausen and did not wholly deny the validity of the Religionsgeschichtliche Methode. These aspects of his investigations would not have been incompatible with the new biblical theology movement which sought to utilize all the elements of biblical criticism in making the biblical message relevant for the church. Nevertheless, the void of theological concern could have given his works a less impressive appearance to the followers of the new theological trend.

Causse wrote in a period of transition and his studies were transitional. They went beyond the History of Religions School toward a synthesis of Israelite history and religion based on sociological theory and analysis. Causse viewed Old

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1. Père Roland de Vaux remarked to me on March 22, 1965: "It is amazing that the work of Monsieur Causse did not have a more significant effect upon biblical studies in Europe, as one would have expected from the extent of it."



Testament religion as a part of the total picture of Oriental religions, but not as an incidental aspect of the whole. Its uniqueness was expressed in prophetism and ethical monotheism.

It was the employment of sociological method which kept Causse's work from being rigidly Hegelian or Wellhausian. It allowed for shades of gray in the evolutionary process envisioning continual beginnings and regressions in historical development. Hence, the historical method employed was a unique blending of literary criticism and psychological and sociological laws in quest of the development of Israelite mentality in the biblical period. In this principle one discovers the historical imagination of his writing.

Causse's high regard for psychological and sociological laws indicates his conviction that it was possible, at least in part, to understand Israel and its growth by applying these laws to Old Testament life and thought. He never felt, however, that the all-inclusive history of Israel could be written.

The attractive aspects of his approach have been pointed out from time to time in the course of this thesis, but it is now pertinent to ask if the dependence on psychology and sociology, as well as the evolution of tradition, may not be somewhat misleading. The value of his method hangs upon the question: Can one on the basis of the Old Testament texts comprehend the evolution of Israelite thought? Is it possible on the basis of these documents that the inner history is more accessible than Israel's life? It is not a valid assumption that the history of Israel equals the history of its thought;

nor can one assume that since this thought is the expression of religious experience it is to be classified as religious thought. While there are implications of both assumptions in Causse's work, his loyalty to the Strasbourg School historiography prevented the complete submission to psychological and sociological analysis. The historical synthesis of literary criticism and chronological investigation of the periods of Israel's history save his research from the static nature of Pedersen's Israel, which is much too "idea" centered.

With the trend today back to an interest in Old Testament history,<sup>1</sup> what Causse had to say may now be more relevant than it was during his lifetime. The search to understand how God's message to the Israelites relates to the modern church requires the discovery of historical perspective, by which is meant not merely one's view of the Old Testament itself but also the way in which the development of Israel's history is perceived. It is to this aspect of Old Testament

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1. See H. H. Rowley, "Trends in Old Testament Study," in The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley, (London: Clarendon, 1951) xx-xxiii; J. Muilenberg, "Old Testament Scholarship," JBR 28(1960) 173-180; G. E. Wright, "Old Testament Scholarship in Prospect," JBR 28(1960) 182-193; cf. W. F. Albright, The Biblical Period, revised edition, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); From the Stone Age to Christianity; J. Bright, A History of Israel: Early Israel in Recent History Writing, (London: SCM, 1956); M. Noth, The History of Israel; G. E. Wright & F. V. Filson, Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, revised edition, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956).



research that much present discussion is directed.<sup>1</sup>

A re-thinking of the historical basis of Old Testament religion may lead to a "new discovery" of Antonin Causse. A statement of G. E. Wright provides a clue to the reasonableness of this assertion. "We now perceive that the first main point about Israel in her world is her peculiar interest in her history, the use her writers made of her historical traditions, the manner in which both public and private worship, and the proclamation of the divine Word by the prophets, is firmly fixed within these historical traditions."<sup>2</sup> These are some of the aspects of Israel's history to which Causse addressed his research, with a blending of source and form criticism, history of religions and sociological method, although without the existential concern of contemporary Old Testament theology. While he avoided existential questions, his investigations are pertinent to an understanding of Israel's interest in its history, the use of historical tradition by the writers, the development of individual and corporate worship, and the divine message of the prophets. An additional comment by W. Eichrodt leads one to think that

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1. On the significance of Old Testament theology as a theology of events, the new interest in an understanding of historical event, and the essentially historical character of the religion of Israel cf. Wright, God Who Acts; Bright, Early Israel in Recent History Writing, 11; Th. O. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, trans. by S. Neuwen, (Newton: Branford, 1961) 14; Westermann, op. cit.; B. W. Anderson, ed., The Old Testament and Christian Faith, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

2. G. E. Wright, "History and Reality," ibid., 185.

the "new discovery" of Causse might be beneficial to Old Testament research. "In treating individual religious concepts the major elements of their historical background must be taken into account. Only so can we hope to do justice to the great unitive tendency that runs through the whole religious history of Israel and makes it with all its variety a self-consistent entity."<sup>1</sup> Causse's Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse pursues the objective of analyzing the historical background and development of Israelite life and thought, although he seeks to bridge no gap between faith and history.<sup>2</sup>

Causse's work will be of continuing importance to those who study the social aspects of Israel's history and religion. The most significant and recent example is C. van Leeuwen's Le développement du sens social en Israël avant l'ère chrétienne,<sup>3</sup> which is heavily dependent on Causse. Van Leeuwen demonstrates an excellent command of continental and English Old Testament scholarship, and a careful textual analysis in discussing the sociological conflicts which dominated the life of Israel, especially from the time of its sedentary life in Canaan--the conflict of the latifundia and the poor, and of agriculture and commerce in the monarchical period. In elaborating the sociological conflict between the

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1. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament I, trans. by J. A. Baker, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961) 32.

2. Supra, chapter 3.

3. (Assen: van Gorcum, 1955).



legislators and prophets of the Old Testament he says, "In the struggle of the legislators and prophets, there is a principle which surpasses the role of the historical conditions. It is their passionate call to social justice, which is worthy of being heard in our modern world."<sup>1</sup> Van Leeuwen has succinctly pointed to the relevance of the sociological analysis of Israel.<sup>2</sup> Causse had stressed the realization of social justice as Israel's mission, and this aspect of his work will make his discussions continuously relevant for a biblically oriented understanding of the problems of society.<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter it has been suggested that Causse has had little impact on Old Testament studies because of Weber's forceful influence, the transitional stage of the University of Strasbourg when Causse was appointed to the theological faculty, and the predominance of Old Testament theology during his most productive years. Although each suggestion has been explored, the question of Causse's anonymity must remain open. To attempt to decide why a man has not been an influential

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1. Ibid., 11.

2. Cf. A. Kuschke, "Arm und Reich im Alten Testament," ZAW 57(1939) 31-57; A. Cronbach, "The Social Ideas of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," HUCA 18(1944) 119-156; R. Gordis, "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature," HUCA 18(1944) 77-118; J. W. Gaspar, Social Ideas in the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament, (Washington: Catholic University dissertation, 1947); A. Gelin, Les pauvres de Yahvé, (Paris: Cerf, 1953); E. Munk, La justice sociale en Israël, (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1948); J. van der Ploeg, "Les pauvres d'Israël," in Oudtestamentische Studien VII, (Leiden: Brill, 1950) 236-270. P. L. Berger, "Charisma and Religious Innovation: The Social Location of Israelite Prophecy," ASR 28(1963) 940-950.

3. Cf. M. Wax, "Ancient Judaism and the Protestant Ethic," AJS 65(1960) 449-455.

figure is a dangerous endeavor which risks distortion of the facts on the one hand and argument from silence on the other. Nevertheless, the proposals of this chapter are at least of value in properly placing Causse in the context of the development of Old Testament studies.

The contention that a re-thinking of the historical basis of Old Testament religion may lead to a "new discovery" of Causse remains to be seen. His studies are relevant to the renewed interest in Israel's history and pertinent to the church's biblical understanding of the problems of society.



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The prescribed task of this dissertation was described at the outset as to provide for the first time a systematic evaluation of the life, intellectual background, research, and method of Antonin Causse and to show the importance of his contribution to Old Testament studies. It is hoped that this objective has been achieved.

It has been shown how Causse was wedded to the tradition of French biblical studies, especially the Strasbourg School and the work of Reuss and Renan. While Causse drew heavily upon the historiography of this tradition, he moved beyond its historical perspective, which was evolutionary and spawned Wellhausenism, to an historical synthesis influenced by French sociology. He integrated sociological and psychological laws into an evolutionary investigation of Israel's life, thought, and literature, and drew upon a wide knowledge of comparative religion and biblical scholarship.

It is not necessarily for information about a given subject that contemporary Old Testament scholarship should take a "new look" at Causse's research. The disciplines he employed have themselves developed far beyond what they then were. There are, of course, places where his insights still are germinal and can serve as a point of departure for men even today. It is true that philological and archeological data are greatly lacking in his work; however, to judge his research on the basis of whether it is a mine of factual data would be a grave injustice.

It is the historical synthesis which he presented that is of primary value. Although he did not develop it in a theoretical way, he was a precursor of what might be called the "intel-

lectual history of the Old Testament;" in other words, an historical view requiring not merely the establishment of the origin of historical phenomena, but the careful scrutiny of such phenomena within given periods of time and contexts in the light of both internal and external forces that may have precipitated them or influenced their development. In contrast to this view is the trend in Biblical Theology to assume a thematic or topical outline with ideas only faintly rooted in the cultural matrix.<sup>1</sup>

Causse's method involved the integration of sociological, psychological, and historical phenomena attempting to show the understanding these forces brought to Old Testament life, thought, and literature. This did not break so much with Wellhausen as to show the context of expression. The judgment stands, however, that Causse did not break enough with the linear view, which resists periodic occurrence of similar themes. Nevertheless, the historical synthesis he presented has now come of age and deserves careful evaluation by contemporary Old Testament scholarship.

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1. See especially O. Baab, The Theology of the Old Testament, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1949); P. van Imschoot, Théologie de l'Ancien Testament I-II, (Tournai: Desclée, 1954-56); E. Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, trans. by A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock, (New York: Harper, 1958); G. A. F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the Old Testament, (London: SCM, 1959). Other studies, though not categorized as Biblical Theology, which tend to generalize ideas such as time, soul, blessing and cursing, and others without utilizing the historical understandings that gave shape to these ideas through time include T. Boman, Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek, trans. by J. L. Moreau, (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960); J. Pedersen, Israel; C. Tresmontant, A Study of Hebrew Thought, trans. by M. F. Gibson, (New York: Desclée, 1960).



## APPENDIX

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1922

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1926

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